

CHARACTERIZATION OF THE CANTONESE DIALECT WITH SPECIAL
REFERENCE TO ITS MODIFIED TONES

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Thesis.

Characterization of the Cantonese Dialect with Special Reference to its Modified Tones.

Summary.

Chapter I - The Cantonese Dialect is characterized by its rich tonal system, which in this introductory chapter is compared with the tonal systems of four of the principal dialects of China, viz. the Peking, Shanghai, Hokkien and Hakka dialects.

Chapter II - From historical and other records it is shown that Cantonese has a long history as a Chinese dialect, dating back to the 3rd century B.C., and that it has had continuous contacts with aboriginal dialects (chiefly Tai) up to fairly recent times (Song and Yuan).

Chapter III - On account of its early establishment as a Chinese dialect, Cantonese possesses a number of archaisms in its tone patterns as well as in its vocabulary and in structure. On the other hand, its contact with aboriginal dialects of the south has also affected its tonal system, vocabulary and, in some cases, even word-order. As far as the tonal system is concerned it has increased in richness of pattern, i.e. in variety of pitches and movements, owing to contact with rich aboriginal tonal systems. Its vocabulary has been likewise enriched, so that there are in current use in Cantonese today a large number of words not found in any other Chinese dialect (except in some cases in Hakka, which has been subjected to similar influences in the same province). A list of such 'peculiar' words is given. In addition, this thesis lists words which are common to both Cantonese and two Tai dialects (of Longjou 龍州 and Shianqjou 象州).

In order to show up the marked difference in structure between Cantonese and Northern Chinese dialects, a comparison is made between Cantonese and the National Language, i.e. the Peking dialect, including also comparison of the vocabulary.

Chapter IV + is devoted to the Cantonese tones in general. It starts with a critical survey of the contributions made by Western and Chinese scholars and sets out in particular the basic tone patterns and their development to the present stage of pitches and movements.

Chapter V deals with the 'modified' tones, which may well be described as the most interesting feature of the whole Cantonese tonal system. The 'modified' tones, changed from the 'basic' tones, serve to distinguish the 'particular' from the 'general'. They may also express a certain emotional attitude of the speaker or denote emphasis. Furthermore they may originate from omission of words (compensatory modification). It is contended that the modified tones have arisen from the coalescence of a noun and its diminutive suffix, a high-pitched 'i' (jrihx), which corresponds to and is etymologically identical with the suffix erl 兒 of the National Language. A topical list of current words which are generally spoken in the modified tones has been included.

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Chapter I.

Comparison of the Cantonese tonal system with the tonal systems of the Peking, Shanghai, Hokkien and Hakka dialects.

The characterization of a Chinese dialect might be expected to begin with an attempt to characterize this dialect in a general way by comparing it with all the other, or at least the principal, Chinese dialects. A general comparison of this kind would have to list, on the one hand, features of the special dialect which it shares with all or some Chinese dialects and, on the other hand, to enumerate features which it shares with few or even may possess exclusively. Any person who is acquainted with the state of our present knowledge of Chinese dialects will be aware that a characterization on these lines is not only not possible now but also very unlikely to become feasible in the near future.

Many Chinese dialects have so far not been explored at all and of many others we have at present only a superficial knowledge, in spite of the progress made in recent years by such surveys as that of the Hwubeei dialects organized by the Academia Sinica. For quite some time to come we must content ourselves with monographs of single dialects the most important of which have been included in the bibliography appended to this thesis.

While I am unable to offer a general characterization on the lines mentioned above I feel that it may be helpful to make a general comparison of Cantonese with a few of the principal dialects of China at least under one aspect, viz. that of the tonal system. This attempt may find its justification in the fact that tonal systems of a good number of Chinese dialects have been sufficiently explored to venture such a comparison, and in comparison with those it may be safe to say that Cantonese possesses the richest tonal system. Since I am attempting a characterization on very general lines I limit myself to comparing it with four of the principal Chinese dialects, viz. Peking, Shanghai, Hokkien and Hakka.

The geographical distribution of the principal dialects may be seen from the following map, reproduced from China Proper, Physical Geography, History and Peoples, Vol. I, Geographical Handbook Series for Official use only, Naval Intelligence Division, July 1944, p. 459.

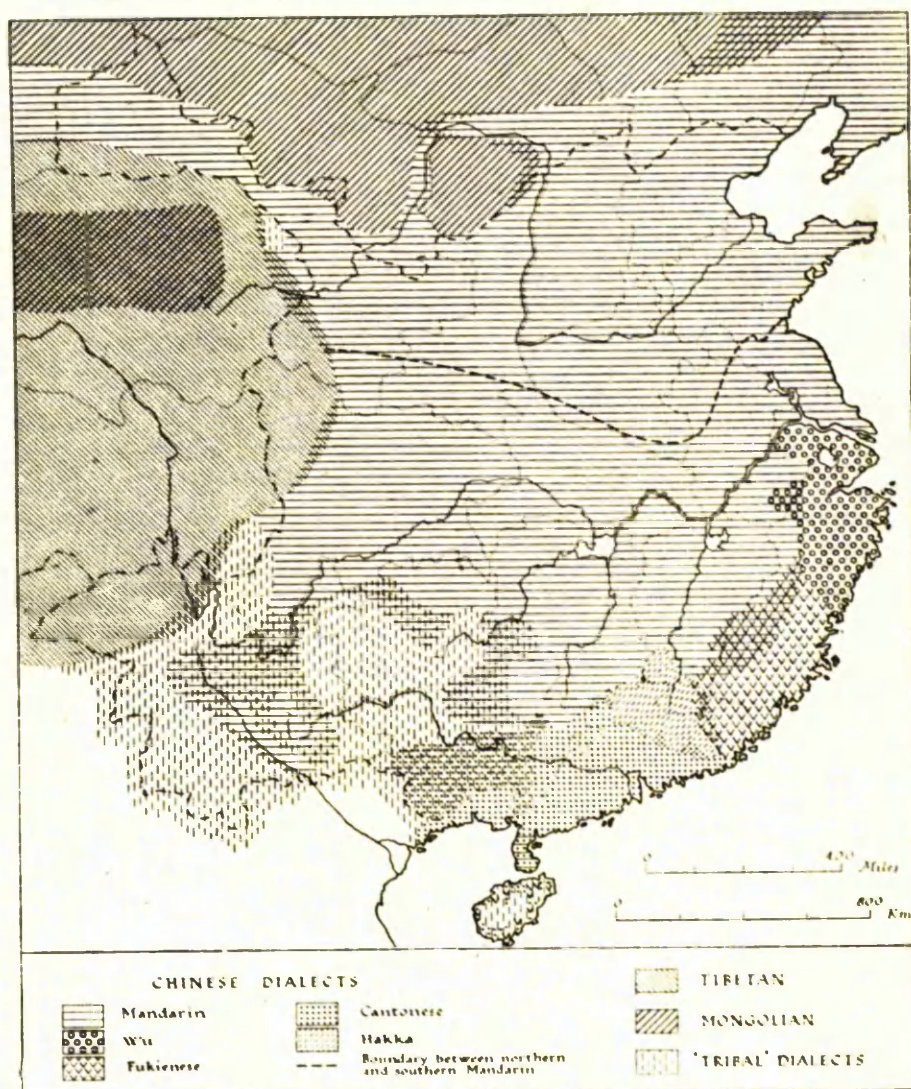


Fig. 122. Distribution of languages

Based on (i) *New Atlas of China*, plate 5 (Shanghai, 1934); (ii) Cressey, G. B., *China's Geographic Foundations*, p. 11 (New York, 1934); and (iii) Maspero, Georges, *Un Empire Colonial français : l'Indochine*, vol. i, map (Paris, 1929).

Among the principal dialects in the map the Cantonese dialect is without question the richest in variety of tones;

thus, whereas the Peking dialect has four tones, the Shanghai eight, the Hokkien seven, and the Hakka six, the Cantonese dialect has nine principal tones as well as certain special tones which have not hitherto been described in detail. Further, the Cantonese dialect differs from the others in that there has been a complete transposition of two of its tone groups, namely the 'shangpyng and shiahpyng' 上平, 下平 group and the 'shangchiuh and shiahchiuh' 上去, 下去 group, since they became so-called centuries ago. To avoid confusion it should be stated here and now that despite the change-over of these groups of tones the names (as the Cantonese call them) remain unchanged.

The tones of the various dialects (excluding the special tones of the Cantonese dialect) and the transposition referred to above may be better understood by reference to the following chart (I):-

I

Ancient Tones		Modern Tones				
		Peking	Shanghai	Hokkien	Hakka	Cantonese
Pyng	high level	—	—	—	—	—
	low level	—	—	—	—	—
Shang	high rising	—	—	—	—	—
	low rising	—	—	—	—	—
Chiuh	high falling	—	—	—	—	—
	low falling	—	—	—	—	—
Ruh	high clipped	—	—	—	—	—
	low clipped	—	—	—	—	—

It can be seen from the chart that solely in the Cantonese dialect do the pyng (level) group and the chiuh (falling, often called 'going') group of tones show a complete interchange of movement, thus making the shang-pyng and shiahpyng and shangchiuh and shiahchiuh nomenclature quite unsuitable. In addition this dialect possesses an extra tone in the ruh group, namely a middle clipped tone.

It will be understood that the tonal values referred to above only hold true for what may be called the Metropolitan dialects. When one moves away from the large centres of population (Canton and Hongkong in the case of Cantonese) various changes of tone values become evident. Professor Y.R. Chao wrote a monograph on the Chungshan dialect (what we would here call sub-dialect) in the BIHP Vol. XX (1948). Chungshan is a district southwest of Canton and the difference between the tonal systems of this subdialect and Metropolitan Cantonese is already great. These changes are regional and go to the making of sub-dialects which may be so far removed from one another as to be mutually unintelligible. For instance the Seiyap dialect of Goangdong is a case in question. There the shanqpyng tone is pronounced as a middle level tone and the shanqshanq as a high level tone. These and other changes make the Seiyap dialect quite unintelligible to a Metropolitan speaker.

In this general comparison of a few tonal systems, I shall not go into a detailed description of the extra Cantonese tones, but it may not be out of place here to reproduce a chart (II) given by E.H. Parker¹, which shows at a glance the tonal systems (in Chinese nomenclature) of the principal dialects. In the Cantonese section he includes all the Cantonese tones, standard and otherwise.

1. China Review Vol. 9 (July 1880-June 1881) p. 81.

TABLE OF TONES

	TZE H			
	PYNG	Shang	Chieh	Ruh
Peking	Pyng		Chieh	
	Shang Pyng	Shieh Pyng		Ruh
Hankow	Shang Pyng	Shieh Pyng	Chieh	
	Shang Pyng	Shieh Pyng		Ruh
Hakka	Shang Pyng	Shieh Pyng	Shang Chieh	Shieh Chieh
	Shang Pyng	Shieh Pyng		Shieh Chieh
Foochow	Shang Pyng	Shieh Pyng	Shang Chieh	Shieh Chieh
	Shang Pyng	Shieh Pyng		Shieh Chieh
Canton				Shieh Chieh
				Shieh Chieh
				Shieh Chieh
				Shieh Chieh
				Shieh Chieh
				Shieh Chieh
				Shieh Chieh
				Shieh Chieh

The above chart tabulates 18 tones in the Cantonese tonal system, that is, an extra tone to each of the nine standard tones. Parker calls the extra tones 'variant tones' 變音, but in this thesis they are called modified tones, 1st and 2nd. The first group of modified

tones can be observed in Cantonese words which are originally in the standard tone, shangpyng 上平, i.e. high falling (and occasionally words which are in some other standard tone) but which are changed into a high level tone in colloquial speech owing to some special reason to which I shall refer in Chapters IV and V, and furthermore in some Cantonese dialectic words which have no counterparts in the main Chinese vocabulary and whose original tone is high level. The second group includes Cantonese words which are originally in one or other of the standard tones other than the shangpyng 上平, and which, for reasons of a similar kind as those to be adduced later for the tone change of the first group, have resulted in a change into a long rising tone.

These preliminary remarks may suffice to illustrate the richness of the Cantonese tonal system.

Chapter II.

The Growth of the Cantonese Dialect.

A. General Outline of the Development

Before we proceed further it is relevant here to look at the origin of the Cantonese Dialect and the history of the people who now call themselves Cantonese and who speak this dialect, which, with its sub-dialects, forms a separate unit linguistically and, to a certain extent, even culturally. But in this thesis our chief concern is the linguistic aspect, and so the historical and cultural aspects are brought in only as far as they have some bearing on the linguistic development of the Cantonese Dialect.

Going back to the early history of China, we find that the first centre of Chinese culture was in the Yellow River basin, and early Chinese historical records offer us no data for studying the tribes living south of this centre except in a very scanty and general way, and it is therefore impossible to identify with any certainty the 'barbarian' tribes whom the records name, nor can we give any details regarding the contacts between the settled agricultural Chinese and the less settled or less cultured peoples all round them. In the Shujing 書經 the legendary Shuenn 舜 is said

to have ^{driven} slain the San Miao 三苗 ^{to} at San Wei 三危¹. Who were these people slain and where was San Wei? Has the name Miao 苗 any connection with the present Miao tribes who still inhabit the mountain fastnesses of the South? And who were the Nan Man 南蠻 that the 'celestial' empire often had to pacify? It is impossible to say for sure at present but it is safe enough to assume that there was not a vacuum between the early Chinese and their neighbours who had a 'different way of life'. The Chinese way of life, however, proved to be more resilient and with the increase of population the Chinese pushed southward more boldly, converting some of their neighbours, or cousins, into adopting their way of life. This they achieved sometimes by means of superior arms and sometimes, perhaps more frequently, by what is called nowadays 'infiltration'. Gradually they reached in this way the fertile Yangtze basin, pushing the aboriginals further and further south from that basin.

Regarding the lands and peoples of the Yangtze basin and the south R. Grousset says that the Yangtze basin and the south were occupied by barbarians under the general names Man 蠻 and Miao 苗. It is assumed that the Miautz 苗子 of today are descendants of some of these barbarian tribes, and that others who inhabited these areas were the ancestors of the Tai² who remained down

1. SBBY No. 1 尚書 卷 1 p. 7b

2. The name Tai is here and subsequently used in the widest sense; all these tribes are called Zrong 獐 by the Cantonese.

to the 13th Century of our era in possession of Yunnan 雲南, their kingdom being Nanjaw 南詔; and that a third element, also considered as mainly Tai by the Cantonese, was the 'barbarian' tribes who were related to the Annamites. The last-mentioned people were said to have occupied the provinces Goangdong 廣東 and Goangshi 廣西, and perhaps also Fwujiann 福建 and Jehjiang 浙江 if not the valley of middle Yangtze. Grousset quotes Maspero as stating in his Origines de la Civilisation Chinoise that the barbarians of the Yangtze slowly came under Chinese influence in the 9th Century B.C. but soon regained their independence until at the end of the Jou 周 Dynasty, they became sinicized by contact with the Chinese. One of these barbarian chiefs of the plain at the confluence of the Hann 漢 River with the Yangtze subjugated his neighbours and founded the state of Chuu 楚. Similarly, the state of Shuu 蜀 in Syhchuan 四川, and the states of Wu 吳 and Yueh 越 in lower Yangtze were founded. Grousset then quotes M. Aurousseau as stating in his paper 'La première conquête Chinoise des pays annamites', BEFEO XXIII, that the barbarians in Hwubei 湖北 became sinicized quickly and their status was raised to the feudal state of Chuu 楚, which destroyed the kingdom of Yueh 越 in Jehjiang 浙江 in 333 B.C. The inhabitants of Yueh emigrated to the south and founded the three principalities of Min Yueh 閩越 in Fwujiann 福建, Nan Yueh 南越

in Goangdong 廣東 Ouluoh 瓠貉 in Tonkin, and these were not annexed by the Chinese until the period between 221 and 214 B.C.¹

Although Maspero, in T'oungpao, 1924, p. 372 and following, contradicted Aourousseau about his theory regarding Ouluoh 瓠貉 and disputed his placing of Ouluoh (Ngeou-lo) as far south as Tonkin, no one would doubt that the 'celestial' Chinese expanded and dispossessed the 'barbarians' of their original abode from the Yangtze to the south, and the natural result was migrations on a bigger or smaller scale further southward or southwest or southeast until they were stopped by the sea or other formidable barriers. When a more systematic comparison of Cantonese, Annamese and Siamese and other Tai languages is achieved, it may be possible to assist historians in their task of clarifying the origins and the early history of these peoples. It may suffice here to note that the earlier inhabitants of Goangdong 廣東 were part of the large group of southerners who inhabited China all along and south of the Yangtze, and they were gradually pushed southwards by the Chinese. The 'barbarian' state of Chuu 楚 was the leader of all these tribes about 500 B.C. But with more rapid sinicization along the Yangtze and with the coming of the totalitarian

1. Histoire de L'Extrême-Orient, Paris, 1929. Vol I pp. 181-2.

Chyn 秦, the aborigines retreated further south. Even then Chyn would not leave them alone. It was fortunate for the development of the Cantonese Dialect that after the fall of Chyn, Jaw Tuo 趙佗 who, though of Chinese birth, felt but little loyalty for a new master, championed the cause of the southerners against imperial Hann 漢, and so facilitated the union of the aboriginal and Chinese cultures in Goangdong 廣東. Thus the Cantonese Dialect could draw its strength and absorb influences both from the Yangtze basin via Hwunan 湖南 and Jiangshi 江西 and from the Southwest through aboriginal connections with the tribes of Gueyjou 貴州, Syhchuan 四川 and Yunnan 雲南, chiefly via the West River.

B. The political and administrative development in the South of China as recounted in historical and other records.

The above outline summarises the situation in this extreme southern area of China now known as the Goangdong 廣東 Province, but it needs further substantiation by means of relevant historical records and other sources available.

It appears that by chuen-chiou 春秋 times (c 500 B.C.) the Yangtze had been sinicized, as the 'barbarian' state of Chuu 楚 was already a member of the feudal hierarchy, and Chuu 楚 was responsible for all the land and for the 'good behaviour' of the peoples south of the Yangtze

including the Hundred Yueh 百越 1. Expeditions were sometimes sent out by Chuu to punish rebellious tribes among these distant barbarians who were a few degrees more 'barbarous' than Chuu. At the breaking up of the feudal system at the end of Jou 周, the totalitarian Chyn 秦 bent on extending its imperial sway of stricter and more efficient and more direct control even to the extreme south, sent expeditions southward which reached the malarial jungle land of Goangdong 廣東 and Goangshi 廣西, where it settled, in among the aborigines, convicts, displaced persons and others who were politically undesirable². These settlements which arose from the expansionist policy of Chyn resulted in the birth of the Cantonese Dialect, as the Chinese language was then for the first time transplanted in strength to the area of Goangdong. The expedition of 218 B.C. is considered the first to be sent: it is in any case the first of this kind recorded in Symaa Chian's Shyyjih. Under their commander Twu Swei 屠睢, the troops made canals and

1. Shyyjih (SBY) 史記 楚世家 J.40 p.5a 威王 使人獻天子天子賜昨曰鎮爾南方越之亂無侵中國
671 B.C. The Ruler of Chuu was instructed to continue the suppression of the southern barbarians.
J65 p.5b 於是南平百越 Wu Chii 吳起 pacified the Hundred Yueh in the South.

2. Shyyjih (SBY) 史記 南越尉佗列傳 第五十三
J.113 p.1a 秦時已并天下略定揚越置桂林南海象郡 (i.e. in present day Goangdong 廣東 Goangshi 廣西)
以謫徙民與越雜處十三歲

Chyan Hann Shu (SBY) 前漢書南粵王傳 J.95 p.6b
秦併天下略定揚越置桂林南海象郡以謫徙民與越雜處十三歲

constructed highways for transportation of ammunition and food supplies. But the aboriginal inhabitants there tired the imperial army out by refusing to give battle for three years in succession. They swooped on it when its morale had become low and its supplies exhausted. The invaders were routed in 215 B.C.¹ Thus this first expedition failed ignominiously. But the second expedition was a very different story. Ren Shiao 任翽 and Jaw Tuo 趙佗 were sent. They were most successful in their pacification of the 'barbarians' and they started colonizing the south. One of these at least, namely Jaw Tuo, seems to have been in the south before and probably knew the land, the customs, the people and perhaps even the language. He with 500,000 fresh troops among whom were undesirables and convicts started for the south in 214 B.C. with the intention of remaining in the south to start a colony. In the following year more armed 'undesirables' came south to mix with the natives and incidentally to watch over them. To settle these Chinese troops, 15000 unmarried Chinese

1. Shyyjih (SBBY) 史記 主父偃列傳第五十二 J.112 p.7b 使尉佗屠睢將樓船之士南攻百越使監祿鑿渠運糧深入越越人遁逃曠日持久糧食絕乏越人擊之秦兵大敗秦乃使尉佗特奇以成越

It seems that Jaw Tuo's 趙佗 name has been coupled with that of Twu Suet 屠睢 only here. In the biography of 趙佗 Jaw Tuo, he was mentioned only with Ren Shiao 任翽 i.e. in the second expedition, and in the memorial of Huai Nan 淮南王安 reported in the biography of Yen Joh 嚴助傳 in Chyan Hann Shu 前漢書 (SBBY No.22) J.64 p.5b Jaw Tuo was not mentioned together with Twu Suet 屠睢. 秦之時嘗使尉屠睢擊越之使監祿鑿渠通道守空地曠日持久士卒勞倦越人出擊之秦兵大破迺發適戍以備之.

women (lit. women without family ties by marriage) were said to have been despatched from the north to live in the Canton district¹. Thus a Chinese community was started, a large enough colony for the preservation of their superior culture and language for the time being. Ren Shiau 任囂 was governor of these southern prefectures and Jaw Tuo became the District Officer of Long-Chuan (in present day Goangdong, near Canton). The short-lived Chyn 秦 dynasty fell and rebellious leaders turned the Empire into chaos. The governor Ren Shiau 任囂 on his death-bed appointed Jaw Tuo his successor as governor of the Nan Hae prefecture 南海 and Jaw soon annexed Gueylin 桂林 and Shianqjiunn 象郡, the area of present day Goangdong 廣東 and Goangshi 廣西, and established his capital in Canton.^{2(番禺)} He later annexed Tonkin 交趾 (in Indo-China). Jaw was a wise colonizer. He himself adopted aboriginal costumes, customs and habits³

1. Goangdong Tungjyh (a Topography of the Province of Kwang-Tung) 廣東通志 by 郝玉麟 and 鄧彌達 (1731) J.6. p. 2b
 編年 秦紀三十三年丁亥遣任囂趙佗定南越置南海桂林象郡以囂為南海郡尉佗為龍川令謫徙民五十萬戍之二世皇帝元年壬辰以女無夫家者萬五千人予南越

2. Goangdong Tungjyh 廣東通志 J.6. p. 6b 編年西漢紀
 漢高帝元年乙未冬十一月南海尉任囂卒趙佗代任囂為尉擊并桂林象郡佗改南海為南武自立為南武王

3. Chyan Hann Shu (SBY) 前漢書 J.43. p. 4b 高祖使賈 (Luh Jea) 賜佗印為南越王賈至尉佗魘結翼踞見賈 (196 B.C.)

and encouraged fraternization among his subjects. The two main garrisons then were in Canton and Troyshaann 台山 but Canton was the capital, where all currents met.

As far as the history of Chinese administration in Canton is concerned reference may be made to the Liingway Daydar 嶺外代答 which gives information about the people, customs, dialects etc. of the land beyond the mountain, written in Song 宋 times (1178), by Jou Chih Fei 周去非, who traces this administration back to Chyn 秦 times when the prefectures in Goangdong and Goangshi and Tonkin (交趾) were pacified, and relates how the emperors in Han 漢 and Tarnng 唐 times re-divided the territories and appointed governors in the capital of Goangdong, Tonkin and Gueyjen 桂州 at various times, with the result that these prefectures formed more or less an administrative unit under Chinese officials¹.

1. Liingway Daydar 嶺外代答, (Tsorngshu Jyicherng 叢書集成) J.1.p.1. 自秦皇帝并天下伐山通道略定揚越為南海桂林象郡今之西廣秦桂林是也東廣南海也交趾象郡也漢武帝平南海離秦桂林為二郡曰鬱林蒼梧離象郡為三曰交趾九真日南又稍割南海象郡之餘壤為合浦郡乃自徐聞渡海略取海南為朱崖儋耳二郡置刺史于交州漢分九郡視秦苦多其統之則一刺史耳至吳始分為二於是交廣之名立焉時交治龍編廣治番禺唐太宗分天下為十道合交廣為一置採訪使于番禺其規模猶漢時唯帥府易地也高宗始置安南都護府于交州本朝皇祐中置安撫經略使于桂州西道帥府始於此至今八桂番禺龍編鼎峙而立復秦之故云。

✓ C. The Development of the Cantonese Dialect

✓ 1. Colonization and Migrations from the North

✓ a. The Earliest Phase (to the end of Western Hann)

As is clear from the above account there can be little doubt that the Chinese planted their nucleus of cultural and linguistic influence in the extreme south already during the Chyh 秦 and Hann 漢 eras and Chinese has been the language of the officials ever since¹. This holds good also for the language of the colonizers and their descendants of both Chinese and aboriginal stock, since the inhabitants of the extreme south could hardly escape being sinicized by continuous Chinese administration. On the other hand they also preserved a separate identity by adopting a rather independent attitude towards the successive central governments in offering loyalty to emperors only when they had to or wanted to or when it was convenient for themselves. Their land was so far away and up to Song 宋 times was rather inaccessible; that is why the Cantonese were able to lead a more independent existence than people in provinces which were more accessible and more easily administered, and therefore adopted the language of the North.

Before proceeding further in the political history

1. I disregard here the linguistic situation in Indo-China which falls outside the scope of this thesis.

of the Cantonese it is essential to go back once more to the able colonizer Jaw Tuo 趙佗 . We find that he had a firm hold on this southern region, and he and his descendants ruled over it for about 93 years. Jaw resisted attempts of the new dynasty, Hann 漢 , to interfere with his internal affairs and paid only lip service to the Emperor at Chang An 長安 . He was in favour of fraternization and severed relationship with the Hann Government when the Empress Leu 呂后 applied sanction against his domain by forbidding farming implements and livestock to be sent to the South¹. The Hann 漢 Government could not force his hand in any way, and eventually a compromise was reached in which mutual face-saving was achieved². It was only when internal strife began that this house of Jaw was shaken (113 B.C.). We witness a struggle for domination between a Chinese queen and an aboriginal prime-minister. The former was a concubine of the Crown Prince Ing Chyi 嬰齊 when he was a hostage in Charng An 長安 , and she was made queen when he became king. The latter, a prime-minister of Tai stock was a very influential man. He triumphed

1. Goangdong Tungjyh 廣東通志 J6. p.3b 高后呂氏五年戊午春二月南越王佗背漢稱制

Chyan Hann Shu (SBBY) 前漢書南粵王傳 J.95 p.9a 高后自臨用事近細士信讒臣別異蠻夷出冬日毋予蠻夷外粵金鐵田器馬牛羊即予予壯毋與牝

Shyyjih (SBBY) 史記 (十一) 南越尉佗傳第五十三 高后時有司請禁南越關市鐵器 J.113 p.2a

2. Chyan Hann Shu (SBBY) 前漢書南粵王傳 J95 pp. 8b - 10a 國為書稱蠻夷大長然其居國竊如故號其使天子稱王朝命如諸侯

and put the son of a Tai queen on the throne¹. Thus the policy of fraternization and intermingling of blood and culture produced in a few generations rulers and statesmen of the Chinese tradition irrespective of their stock. The reign of the Jaw family, though soon ended by the Hann 漢 general Luh Bor Der 路博德² in 113 B.C., had established a permanent footing and a tradition for the Chinese language in the Canton area. The aborigines, mainly Tai³, who are to this day eager and quick to assimilate Chinese culture when opportunity arises, seemed to have been accommodating in the matter of language, and so Cantonese could start on its separate journey of development. When talking of Cantonese, I wish to mention here in addition to the language of the capital its chief subdialect, viz. the Seiyap 四邑 Dialect around the second garrison, in Troyshaann 台山. Both have preserved traces of ancient Chinese features as well as some aboriginal speech habits to remind us that the policy of fraternization and equality of opportunity for both Chinese and aboriginal persons even for the highest posts practised by the Jaw house made it possible to weld together the 'celestial' Chinese and the 'Barbarians'.

1. Shyyjih (SBY) 史記南越尉佗傳第五十三
J 113 p.5b 立明王長男越婁子術陽侯建德為王

2. Goangdong Tungjyh 廣東通志 編年 J 6 p.4a and b
秋遣伏波將軍路博德樓船將軍楊僕擊南越
and following.

3. See Note 2 p.10.

into a unit, with the Chinese language triumphant, but full of aboriginal undertones.

✓ | b. The Later Phase (from Eastern Hann to Tarnq and Song) | ✓

The severity of the Chinese administration in the Eastern Hann Dynasty caused a sizable rebellion among the aborigines who by then were already half-sinicized. The two women leaders Jeng Jai and Jeng Ell 徵側 徵貳 from Tonkin managed to rally round themselves tribes of all the districts south and southwest of Goangdong 廣東 (40 A.D.). The rebellion was quelled in 42 A.D. by the Hann general Maa Yuan 馬援, who had the women rebels executed in the following year and who proceeded to settle and rehabilitate and civilize all the south and he arbitrated and settled the differences between the laws of the Chinese central government on the one hand and laws and customs of these southerners on the other¹. For his good colonial policy and administration he was kindly remembered though feared and was promptly deified. His

1. Goangdong Tungjyh J 6 p. 4b-5b. 廣東通志東漢紀 光武
帝建武十六年庚寅春交趾女子徵側徵貳反 [漢書] 徵側者蒼冷
縣雒將之女也嫁為朱戴人詩索為妻甚雄勇交趾太守蘇定以法
繩之側忿故反以其女弟徵貳為副於是九真日南合浦蠻俚皆
應之凡略六十五城自立為王都蒼冷交趾刺史及諸太守僅得
自守十八年壬辰春二月馬援擊徵側等於浪泊大破之十九年
癸巳夏四月徵側徵貳伏誅 [漢書] 馬援軍至浪泊上與徵側
等戰大破之四月斬徵側徵貳傳首洛陽封援為新息侯食邑
三千戶援請以其地立封溪望海二縣許之援所過輒為郡
縣治城郭穿渠灌溉以利其民條奏越律與漢律駁者十餘事
與越人申明舊制以約束之自後駭越奉行馬將軍故事

spirit is worshipped among many Tai tribes to this day. Under the leadership of Maa Yuan 馬援 Goangdong, with Canton as its centre, developed into a prosperous and flourishing Chinese colony.

But after the fall of Hann (220 A.D.) there was no Chinese dynasty of such duration. About a hundred years later at the beginning of the 4th Century the 'barbarians' swept down from the north and west on to the rich plains of north and central China. The Chinese (the cultured and official class especially) fled southwards, and swelled the Chinese population in these early fastnesses now opened up and made more habitable, and imposed, no doubt, a little more Confucianism on the inhabitants who were willing to adopt it. These settlers were the first to realize in this colony a haven of hope and comparative security, and many northerners, either of noble birth or mere commoners, came south in this and subsequent periods to find a refuge from disasters occasioned by waves of large scale 'barbarian' invasions.

Migration on an even larger scale happened in Tarng times owing to increase of population. This led to larger settlements in the south and so the Cantonese, the mixed descendants of the Jaw Tuo migration group, the Tai groups and now the newer settlers of the glorious Tarng 唐 fixed for themselves the name of People of Tarng 唐人, a name which the Cantonese call themselves to this day.

In the troubled times of the end of T'ang and during the Five Dynasties, the Cantonese again had autonomy for 55 years¹, until their independence was destroyed by Song 宋, and complete Chinese domination was finally achieved.

2. Linguistic Conditions and reactions in the South. ✓

As I said before (see p. 10 (II)) it is safe to assume that the Chinese when pushing south did not fill a vacuum but found there a population which so far has vaguely been called the 'aboriginal tribes'. It seems to be the accepted opinion that among these aboriginal tribes of South China (Goangdong and Goangshi) the Tai² far exceeded in number other early inhabitants such as the Miau 苗 and Yau 瑶. No matter how theories on this earliest phase may be modified by future research - which may also include results from linguistic studies - certain important facts are evident in the historical period, and others may be inferred from what we observe at the present time. By the end of the T'ang period the character of the Cantonese Dialect must have been firmly established, reflecting as it does still now, influences

1. The Kingdom of Nan Han 南漢

2. See p. 27 n. 1

of the aboriginal tribes (i.e. primarily Tai influence¹) as well as features of the language of the Tarn period, which it has to a certain extent preserved until now and I shall discuss later (in Chapter III and IV) what, seen in the light of to-day, would be described as its archaic character.

It would make very interesting reading if the linguistic history of the Cantonese Dialect could be traced step by step. So far only its broadest aspects have been dealt with by linguists on the Chinese side, nor has any detailed work been achieved in the field of such languages closely connected with Cantonese, as the Tai languages and Annamese. We have in fact no record of the internal development of either the Cantonese Dialect in general or its tones in particular from Chyn 秦 times onwards, but we may offer the conjecture that the tonal Chinese language could be more easily acquired and more faithfully reproduced by speakers of another tonal language (Tai) than by the northern 'barbarians' whose languages did not possess a tonal system and moreover showed a totally different structure

1. The occurrence of Tai words in Cantonese, Tai place-names in Goangdong and Goangshi and certain sound changes in Cantonese which recall similar developments in the Tai language are given in Chapter III. Details beyond what I shall mention there are difficult to establish, because the modern phase of Tai dialects spoken on Chinese soil have undergone radical changes as was mentioned by F.K. Li. See his article 古台語喉塞音及帶喉塞音聲母對於創設聲調系統之影響 中國文化研究彙刊

in accident and syntax.

Among linguistic conditions which favour the growth of a dialect, the autonomy of an area, if even for a comparatively short period, is of great importance. The Cantonese Dialect was afforded this opportunity during the Nanbeei Chaur period, i.e. from the time of the 'barbarian' triumph in the north, which followed the collapse of the Jinn ^晉 Dynasty (beginning of the 5th Century) up to the Swei ^隋 Dynasty. During this period the Cantonese people, no less than the peoples who occupied the fastnesses of Syhchuan ^{四川} and Yunnan ^{雲南} or those who occupied Fwujiann ^{福建} were able to preserve a political autonomy (as distinct from the subjugated north) and thus to develop cultures and dialects of their own out of the mixtures of various aboriginal tribes and Chinese settlers, among whom were highly educated emigrés, who had carried with them, southwestward, southwest^{ward}, and southeastward, the best of the Chinese cultural tradition. While this period of autonomy allowed the Cantonese dialect to grow almost to its final form, this was not reached before the end of Tarng which followed the short-lived Swei Dynasty.

During the Tarng Dynasty and especially at its close the Chinese element increased considerably in Goangdong. That Chinese culture at that time spread further and the speaking of Chinese there was intensified may be

inferred from the fact that Chinese was then called Tarng Speech in Goangdong (Tronqwraav) a name by which the Cantonese Dialect is still known nowadays.

Tronqwraav 唐話 - to explain its exact meaning - denotes the dialect of the capital, Canton, the model Metropolitan speech which frowns on all subdialects as being provincial. Related to this hegemony of the Metropolitan speech over the Cantonese subdialects is a feature which can be observed today and may be assumed to have existed already in Tarng times and which would account for the archaic character of Cantonese. I am referring to the reluctance of speaking anything but Cantonese which is shown by speakers of Cantonese who reside in other parts of China and the inability to speak other dialects correctly. Similar reactions on the part of the inhabitants of the Canton district may be inferred in periods subsequent to the Tarng Dynasty when Chinese settlers arrived in the south carrying with them their phase of the Chinese language.

In addition to this assumed reluctance on the part of the speakers of Cantonese to change their language from the state into which it had grown in Tarng times, another fact must be related which may have contributed to preserve its archaic character, viz. the receding of Tai influence which we witness about 150 years after the end of the Tarng Period. We may assume that the Tai

people were still numerous in Goangdong and Goangshi in Tarnq and at the beginning of Song times their revolts and half-hearted loyalty to the throne were still troubling the central government¹. It was only after 1053 that Tai influence retreated westward: the half-Chinese leader Nong Jyh Gau 儂智高 who rose from the Tokin district (交趾) became influential and matched his prowess against his own cousins² as well as the 'celestials', but he was finally driven off in that year (1053) and his Tai allies were routed by General Dyi Ching 狄青 of Song 宋 all along the West River³. Only after its victory was the Central government able to administrate the district in a more efficient manner, that is by fixing the revenue for agricultural land, opening schools, supervising the magistrates, forbidding the offering of human sacrifice and the practice of witch-craft, building better roads to improve communication with the central authority in the north and building city walls round Canton for

1. Goangdong Tungjyh 廣東通志 China, 1731. J6 pp. 18a & b, 19a, 20a, 23a, 30b, 31a, 32b.

2. See Histoire Particuliere du NAN-TCHAO (南詔野史) translated by Camille Sainson, Paris, 1904, p.95.

3. Goangdong Tungjyh 廣東通志 China, 1731, J6 p.31a & b.
皇祐四年壬辰春二月儂智高圍康州知州趙師旦死之夏四月命知桂州陳曙討儂智高五月儂智高圍廣州秋七月轉運使王罕以惠州兵至智高解去兵馬鈴轄張中興戰死之九月以余靖經制廣南盜賊狄青為宣徽南院使討儂高。宣徽南院使狄青大敗儂智高於崑崙關追至邕州廣南平

better defence¹.

After the discussion of these few aspects I wish to mention here a quotation from Luh Faa Yan's 陸法言 preface to his famous rhyme dictionary Chie Yunn 切韻 601 A.D., though its full implication can be discussed only in Chapter IV, viz. The pronunciation of the 'level' tone which when spoken in the districts^{of} Liang and Yih, seems to have been a falling tone². This pronunciation recalls a similar phenomenon to be observed in the present Cantonese Dialect. How far are we entitled to assume that this latter feature existed already in T'ang times and was connected with the phenomenon mentioned by Luh for the ~~two~~ districts which can be roughly equated with parts of present day Yunnan, Szechuan and Gueyjou? To assume such a connection would presuppose a linguistic link - say in a common aboriginal substratum - which extended from Canton to these provinces. No positive proof can be given but at least one obvious counter argument can be invalidated, viz. the fact that, as far as we know, the tone change cannot be observed in the

1. Goangdong Tungjyh 廣東通志. J6 p.29a 太宗太平興國二年丁丑定廣南田賦興學校
 p.29b 雍熙元年甲申夏六月遣使按察廣南獄訟 [宋史] 以廣南獄訟多濫遣使按察淳化元年庚寅秋八月禁嶺南淫祀 [宋史] 禁嶺南殺人祭鬼使州縣察捕募告者賞之
 p.31b 嘉祐四年己亥冬十月廣東轉運使榮諲治棧道於清遠 [宋史] 廣有板步古河絕險林菁瘴毒諲開正陽峽至洗口古徑作棧道七十間抵清遠趨廣州遂為夷塗
 p.32a. 知廣州張田築東城 [宋史] 廣舊無外郭民悉野處田始築東城環七里賦功五十萬兩旬而成 神宗熙寧六年癸丑知廣州程師孟築西城 [宋史] 州城舊為僮寇所毀師孟在廣六年作西城及交趾陷邕管聞廣守備因不敢東

2. 梁益則平聲似去

dialects spoken today in these three provinces, and that those dialects are not in any way connected with Cantonese. This argument - though it would seem obvious - is not valid because it does not take into account the mass migrations occurring after the fall of Nanjaw 南詔¹ which drew new settlers from the north into the thinned-out areas so created and thereby altogether changed their linguistic structure².

Apart from the possibility of a common aboriginal substratum the traffic on the West River (Shijiang 西江) and on its banks must also be taken into account. Cantonese is to this day the lingua franca spoken on both banks of this river which in ancient times was called 牂柯江, apparently a transliterated Tai name³.

1. These migrations caused the increase of Tai influence in Siam, see R. Grousset 'L'Asie Orientale' 1^e Partie, Les Empires, Tome X, Histoire du Moyen Age, Paris, 1941, p. 381-2.

2. This phase may be inferred from the complete domination of the Chinese central administration since Yuan times when drastic reduction of aboriginal power was carried out by primitive expeditions to Yunnan 雲南 (13th Century): (See Histoire Particuliere du Nan Tchao 南詔野史 translated by C. Sainson, Publications de L'Ecole des Langues Orientales Vivantes V^e Serie - Tome IV, Paris, 1904, p. 107 and following) and also from the record of large scale importation of Chinese administrators into Yunnan 雲南 which enabled the province to be ruled according to Chinese laws: See Yunnan Tungjyh 雲南通志 J 24 p. 1a; see also J 23, in the same book, where we witness that from Yuan 元 and Ming 明 times noted Chinese immigrants began to settle in the province in much greater numbers than before.

3. See 粵江流域人民史 by 徐松石 (Shyu Song-shyr) China, 1939, p. 105-6.

With these preliminary remarks which link up the only recorded fact on the development of another southern dialect with Cantonese I am concluding this chapter on the 'internal' development of the Cantonese Dialect, leaving data on its relation with the Tai language to Chapter III. ✓

Chapter III.

Features Peculiar to the Cantonese Dialect other than the Tones

General Introduction.

The necessity for a detailed description of the Tones in Cantonese makes it desirable that they should be dealt with in two special chapters (IV and V). In the present chapter I limit myself to dealing with features other than the tones. I shall describe rather shortly the phonetic peculiarities (III A) and then concentrate on the vocabulary and structural features peculiar to the Cantonese dialect, treating them in greater detail and preceding them by an introduction (III B).

A. Phonetic Peculiarities

1. Variation in the initial consonants

This variation is caused by (a) various speech habits or conventions brought by large groups of settlers to Canton from their original homes where one or other dialect or sub-dialect is spoken, such as the pronunciation of 's' as 'll' (very rarely) owing to Seiyap influence, the pronunciation of 'n' as 'l' owing to Hainan or Swatow influence, (b) an over zealous desire to

1. The transcription of Cantonese used in this thesis is but for a few minor alterations identical with the system proposed by Mr. K.M.A. Barnett in his article, "A Transcription for Cantonese" (BSOAS, Vol XIII [1950] pp. 725-745). Gwoyene Romanzyk is used as the system of transcription for the National Language (Peking dialect).

avoid pronouncing 'n' as 'l' which has led to pronouncing 'l' as 'n' occasionally, (c) the tendency of a number of literati to approximate pronunciation of words in the Classics to that used in Court or in the Peking dialect, (d) the desire to avoid the exact pronunciation of what would otherwise be homophones to tabooed words. In the following examples the listing has been alphabetical since in many cases I felt unable to decide on the exact cause of the variation in question.

b interchangeable with f

fb bhat, fhat = to ladle, to shuffle

jhat brung creong, jhat frung creong = a wall

bu b interchangeable with p

b 1/2 1/2 baakjripvcheonqx, paakjripvcheonqx = shutters

c interchangeable with k

crammjrat, krammjrat = yesterday

c > s

crunqjrung > shunqjrung

c interchangeable with s

zoi ci, zoi si = again *z*

craw, sraw = enmity

cy, sy = place

c interchangeable with z

chaahdhi }, zhaangdhi = almost, nearly
chaangdhi }

chaang xhoy, zhang xhoy = to open (one's eyes)

crinn, zrin = to bind

d interchangeable with c

deee, ceee = to poke with a stick

✓ d interchangeable with t

✓ darng, tarng = to wait

dit daarjrynnv, tit daar jrynnv (dissimilation) =
pill for rubbing on sprained joints and
muscles.

✓ d > t

✓ driucraah > triwcraah (mistaken analogy with 'triw'
of triwwroh 調和) = to investigate.

✓ dai 諱* > tai = to judge, to discriminate; the
truth.

*choy
+ w
+ w*

d interchangeable with z

jrirdinv, jrirzinv = flat cushion

✓ f interchangeable with p

✓ furng, purng = to carry with both hands.

f interchangeable with w

fhaywronq, whaywronq = grand aspect.

fhaycheonnx, whaycheonnx = red labels of good
luck for Chinese New Year.

✓ g interchangeable with f

✓ gurng 鞏, furng = to strengthen; firm, strong.

g interchangeable with k

bhaannghawx, bhaann khawx** = turtle-dove.

Ghawcrirn, Khawcrirn = name of a king of Yueh.

ghawkreoy, khawkreoy = a drain.

* Literary words not frequently used are given in
characters in this section.

** Note:- ghawx = penis, is tabooed among the educated
class, and this taboo extends to all its homophones as
well, hence exchange of initial 'k' for 'g' in most
characters with the phonetic 膏 or 九, because
of their proximity in sound to this tabooed word.

gau 構, kau = to build.

✓ gheanq, kreanq, krearnq (colloquial) = to fear.

✓ g interchangeable with l

✓ git, lit = a knot

g interchangeable with ng

✓ ghaw, nghaw = to have illicit relations with someone (a tabooed word).

giu, nghiw (rural) = to call.

✓ gaau, ngaau = hinge. *- v. diff. under?*

gw interchangeable with f

gwhuuh, fhuuh = decayed.

gwrat, fhat = hole

✓ gw interchangeable with kw

gwaar, kwaar = jacket (ceremonial dress).

✓ gwhann 昆, kwhann = an elder brother; together, a multitude.

j interchangeable with c

jaae, caae = to tread upon.

jrawv-dhak-kreoe, crawv-dhak-xreoe (rural) = to let him.

j interchangeable with ng

jranmrrinv, ngrannlrinv = a kind of preserved fruit.

✓ k interchangeable with g

✓ koi, goi (colloquial) = a cover.

krap, grap = and, to reach, until.

✓ k interchangeable with gw

✓ khuulhung, gwhuulhung = hole.

✓ k interchangeable with x

kaai, xaa (rural) = with, to make use of.

kreoe, xreoe (rural) = he, she.

✓ k interchangeable with w

kwan, wan (colloquial) = to shut some one up, to keep in confinement.

✓ l interchangeable with n

✓ laam, naam = to cross threshold.

✓ lrung, nrung = to play, to handle.

m interchangeable with b

mhawdhan, bhawdhan = to be unemployed.

mhawdhay, bhawdhay (rural) = to squat.

m interchangeable with n

mrey 彌, nrey = to fill, complete; distant (a mispronunciation).

mrey 彌, nrey = overflowing (another mispronunciation following upon the last)

m > n

mraaw > nraaw (or lraaw) = anchor.

n interchangeable with j

nrung, jrung = thick (liquid)

nríp 泉, jríp (also jrit or lrip) = a law, a rule; a limit.

nrít 孽, jrit or jrip = son of a concubine, sin, evil, retribution.

✓ n interchangeable with l

✓ nhek, lhek = to hide, to bring.

nhenq, lhenq = to bring.

✓ hhih-mraay, lhih-mraay = to hide.

✓ nhunq, lhunq = burnt.

- nram, lram = thin ink spreading on absorbent paper.
 /nramm, lramm = soft, well-cooked.
 /nree, lree = you.
 /nrek, lrek = to drown. *WS*
 /nreng, lreng = eloquent, plausible.
 /nrenqmhunq, lrenqmhunq = lemon.
 nreoe 餓, lreoe = hungry.
 nrrio, lrrio = bird.
 nrroh, lrroh = to rub.
 /nrrok 諾, lrok = to affirm, to promise.
 /nronq, lronq = bag. *W*
 nrunq, lrung = peasant.

n interchangeable with m

- /nhangghai, mhangghai = with a scar about the eye.

X ng interchangeable with g

- /ngraa, graa = to be in the way, to stop another's progress.

/p interchangeable with f

- /pao 剖, fao = to cut open, to dissect.

panseoecrih, fanseoecrih = a fountain.

- /peakxhoy, meakxhoy (rural) = to chop or split open.

2 3 16 s interchangeable with c

baat-srenq, baat-crenq = 80%

s interchangeable with j

srimm, jramm = eaves.

s interchangeable with k

sran(v), krarnv = kidney, gizzard.

s > z

shanqx > zhanqx = monk.

✓ shak > ^hzhat (rural) } = a cork, a stopper.
 ✓ sheet > zheet

t interchangeable with k

trawshinnx, krawshinnx = just now.

✓ w interchangeable with f

✓ gheywruuh, gheyfruuh = nearly, almost.

✓ wraannv, fraannv = to play

✓ wrek, frek = to brush away flies, to wave a whip or any pliable thing.

✓ wruuh ^{3A}, fruuh = an arc (as in shaamm-gok-fruuhv =
 a triangle)

✓ wruuhdripv, fruuhdripv = butterfly.

w > kw

✓ wruui-gai > kwuue-gai = to do accounts.

w interchangeable with q

✓ whuuhzhow, qhohzhow, qhowzhow (rural) = dirty.

z interchangeable with c

zau, craaw = creased

zri, crih = pheasant (as in crihghay-mree = pheasant's tail feather)

✓ z interchangeable with ng

✓ jhat zaarn dhanqx, jhat ngaarn dhanqx = a lamp

z interchangeable with t

ghaahshaanqxzae, ghaahshaanqxtae = son of a slave, a slave boy.

2. Variation in the finals¹

The variation in Cantonese finals is due to a variety of causes, not excluding difference of speech habits, but the more apparent ones are (a) the occasional confusion of stops (p,t,k) which, in Cantonese, are normally distinguished, but since there are neighbours like the Yau 猯 of Lrinnsaann 連山, whose stops are weakening² and the people of Min-Yueh stock who reduced the final stops to one, namely 'k', as represented by the Foochow dialect, there is perhaps some possibility of accounting for such confusions as have occurred; (b) the preservation of nasals as final consonants in some clipped-tone words, which are not surprising as these are doublets with either -t or -n finals side by side in ancient Chinese, and also -k or -ng finals; which seem to point to a stage of the language when these were the alternate finals -d or -n, -g or -ng, and doublets with vowel ending side

1. This term to be understood in the Chinese sense, viz. final vowel or diphthong; or vowel + final consonant, or diphthong + final consonant.

2. See S.L. Wong, Phonetics and Phonology of the Yao Language (lingnan University Journal, Vol. pp.).

by side with the nasal 'n' ending¹; (c) the vacillation between an older final 'm' and a more recent development 'n'; (d) palatalization. The above groups will be given in a general list. As in the case of the initials, the listing is again alphabetical. I felt, however, the necessity of listing separately words which in colloquial speech show lengthened vowels.

1. I wish to refer in this connection to the list of words given in Zur Rekonstruktion der altchinesischen Endkonsonanten II Teil by W. Simon, Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen, Jahrgang XXXI, pp. 183, 184, to show doublets with -n and -t finals taken out of the series in Karlgren's Analytical Dictionary.

Serie 153 {ngiän} 讞 Serie 299 {kuan} 幹 Serie 920 {s'an} 剗
{ngiät} {uät} {si'ät}

and further series from the same phonetics

serie 237 iän 堰 neben at 捩

serie 707 puän 本 neben puät 鉢

serie 767 sân 散 neben sät 撒

Further he reconstructed the doublets

g'je neben kian xj^{wed} neben kuan

muät neben muän xua^d neben xuan

Series 811 täng neben tai als doppellesung {tai^等 [tāy]}
{täng}

and lastly the character 退 t'uan is specially noted by Professor Simon who points out that it is not only a case of 會意 construction in this character as indicated by Karlgren '退 (t'uài) withdraw inside the 衣 clothes', but 退 is also a phonetic reconstructed thus (tuäd)*
(tuän)

Indeed 退 is pronounced tan (or dan) in Cantonese as in tan-xrau = to back, to retreat; or tan traae = to reverse gear.

*loc cit. Nachdem in Teil I (S.150) für Serie 1141 退 Dentalauslaut erschlossen wurde, werden wir nunmehr in t'uan 退 nicht mit Karlgren ein 會意 sehen, sondern eine phonetische Zusammensetzung. Es stand eben

t'uan 退 neben t'uài [t'uäd] 退

wie puän 本 neben puät [puäd] 鉢

i.

✓ bhat jryh > bhat jrih (palatalization) = (one) had better, (I) would rather.

✓ brat, brei = nose, as in zreong brat = elephant's trunk.

✓ chaah dhi, zhaang dhi, chaang dhi = almost, nearly.

craamm, craang = brightness hurting one's eyes.

darn, dhat = to put down, to be inactive, sitting down when one should be up and doing.

darng, derng = to wait.

✓ dhekgamdhoix, dhigamdheoi = a very little bit.

dirmgaae, dernggae (palatalization) = why.

dirmjreongv, derngjreongv (palatalization) = how.

drou, druk = to poison some one.

dreon, dryn = blunt (said of knife, etc.)

gaak zry, gaang zry = to ward off a blow with arm.

jhimm, jip = to pickle.

✓ jrip, jrit, nrit 孽 = son of a concubine, sin.

✓ jrip, jrit 泉 = a law, a rule; a limit.

✓ jryh ghamm* > jrihghaahx (palatalization) = now
khak, khek = a knot.

✓ kwaak, kwaang = to hook and tear clothes, skin, etc.

✓ lraammlrau, lraammlreoi = in rags.

✓ lreoi zreoi, lreonzreon = clumsy, awkward.

mhan, mruut = very small particles of water as in
xaoseoemhan = saliva.

* It is possible that this was derived from 而今 instead of 如今, but in the case of 不如, it is clear that jryh > jrih and the generally accepted derivation of jrihghaahx is from jryhghamm.

✓ muut, maat (colloquial) = to wipe.

narn, nirn = to knead with fingers.

✓ nhenq, nhimm (rural) = to bring, to take.

✓ ngaap, ngaat = a pawnshop.

primm 駢, prenq = a pair of horses; joined together.
(the second pronunciation is a standardized mistake and accepted as correct)

saap 教, saat = to strike dead; baleful; very, excessively.

✓ sau, seang = rust.

✓ shak, zhat (rural) = a stopper.

sraak kreoe, sraap kreoe = to tease or provoke him into agreeing to pay a forfeit, as in sraap kreoe cearng jarm = make him pay for a dinner party.

srimm 禪 = Zen Buddhism, srin = to give throne to another.

✓ tarng, terng = to wait.

✓ teoi, tan = to retreat as in tanxrau, to go backwards.

✓ xip 歉 apology from ancient {kiem
{k'iem

zri (palatalized from rural zry?) as in mrh xoo cear zri, mrh xoo cear zry (rural) = don't go yet.

jhat zrivzri, jhat zryvzry (rural) = gradually.

✓ ii. Literary and Colloquial pronunciation:- Some words have their vowels lengthened when spoken in colloquial speech.

bhek, bek > beak

ceoe, or ceor (both colloquial) = to poke or reach with a stick.

crenq > creanq = rain has stopped; weather improving.

✓ derng > dearnq = top, classifier for hat, sedan chair, etc.

> deang = a pyramidal pile of cakes etc. in processions, sacrifices etc.

✓gerng > gearng = neck.

✓ghanq > ghaanq = a watch.

✓ghenq > gheanq also kreanq etc. = to fear.

grap > gaap = and.

lrenq > lreanq = magically efficacious.

lrenqjryhv > lreanqjryhv = a kind of fish. *len* *Ac 3/28*

✓mreng > mreang = life, good or bad fortune.

✓mrenq > mreanqv = name.

✓shanq > shaang = to be alive, raw; to reproduce, produce, etc.

shenq(x) > sheangx = star.

✓shenq > sheanq = fishy smell. *1/2*

✓teng or thenq > theanq = to listen.

xhanq > xhaann = to save money, to be frugal.

✓xhenq > xheanq = light; also xreang xheanqx = very carefully and quietly touch or walk etc.

xranq > xraanq = to walk.

✓zeng > zeang = correct, exact. *1/2*

zhanq > zhaanq = to compete, struggle.

✓zhenq > zheanq = for clever, having quick-wit. *1/2*

zau > craaw = creased.

✓3. Contractions (dropping of one or more consonants),

Assimilations and Dissimilations

✓a. Contractions. As the Chinese Language in general has contractions such as 者焉 become 旃, 者與 or 之於 become 諸, 不之 become 沸, 不可 become 巨, 奈何 become 那, 蒺藜 become 茨, so Cantonese

has its own contractions. The negative in National Language 沒有 should be mrh jrao in Cantonese, and it could have become a contracted word with a sound something like 'mrao'^{mɔ̃h/mɔ̃v}, which is still current in some subdialect, but in Metropolitan Cantonese it has become 'mroo'. The following are some more examples of Cantonese contractions.

✓ ghamjrat > ghamm(m)rat = today.

jhatjrat jhatjrat > jhijrat jhijrat = day by day.

✓ crammjrat > cramm(m)rat } = yesterday.
 (krammjrat > kramm(m)rat)

dreang fhong > dreangv = place, places
 (it becomes a 2nd Modified Tone to compensate for the loss of 'fhong')

gea-a > gas, a final particle.

✓ mhatjrear > mhijrear = what.

mreicranq > mreanq = not yet.

mrh-xoo > moo = don't, you had better not.

✓ shinnshaanq > sheanq = Mr.

✓ xraanq jhatxraanq > xraanqv-xraanq (the first xraanq becomes a 2nd modified tone to compensate for the loss of 'jhat') = to walk for a while.

✓ b. Assimilations and dissimilations can be found in a

number of Cantonese words. For instance the word 'xrang-jrann' 'almond' is generally pronounced 'xrangngrann' in colloquial speech; this being a case of assimilation.

'Jrann' 仁 means 'kernal'. There is, however a word 'ngrann' in colloquial speech meaning 'seed'. It is possible that 'ngrann' 'seed' has been generalized from 'ngrann' 'kernal' of 'xrangngrann' 'almond' and has

become an independent word after being separated from the compound. It seems significant that the name 'gwhaahjramn' 瓜仁 '(white) melon seeds' is pronounced 'gwhaahngrann' in colloquial speech, never 'gwhaahjramn'.

Another word that has a similar problem is 'gaau' a hinge. It is sometimes pronounced 'ngaau' in colloquial speech, as in 'geokngaau' meaning knee-joint, 'shaann ngaau', gap or pass in the mountains. In the case of 'geok ngaau' we can see that the initial of 'gaau' has been changed to 'ng' by dissimilation, but 'shaan ngaau' is a different case. It must be assumed that 'ngaau' meaning hinge or link is or has become an independent word apart from being part of the compound 'geokngaau' 'knee-joint'. When we consider 'ngraahgaau' 'the jaws' there is no question about the initial for 'gaau' as the 'ng' initial in the first element of the compound makes it unlikely to have the 'ngaau' form instead of the 'gaau' form for 'hinge' in the second element.

A most interesting compound in which both assimilation and dissimilation seem to have occurred is jranmrin 仁面 (literary pronunciation), a kind of acid fruit. Its second element is in the 2nd Modified Tone, thus it should have been pronounced as 'jranmrinv'. But the correct pronunciation in colloquial speech is (1) 'ngrannrinv' or (2) 'ngrannlrinv' and occasionally (3) 'ngrannrinv' or (4) 'ngrannlrinv'. (1) Taking the first form, we trace

its development as follows

jranmrinv > ngranmrinv (taking the 'ngrann' form
for kernel or seed instead of 'jrann')
ngranmrinv (initial 'm' > 'n' by assimilation)

(2) However, either because dissimilation occurs now or because the Cantonese have the tendency of confusing 'n' and 'l' the second form of the name, 'ngrannlrv', is heard side by side with the first, that is the initial 'n' > 'l' in the second element of the compound.

(3) For the third form we have to start from the beginning again.

ngranmrinv > ngranmrinv (final 'n' > 'm' by
assimilation)
ngrannmrinv (initial 'm' of 'mrinv' > 'n' by
assimilation with final 'n' of 'ngrann' or by
dissimilation with final 'm' of 'mrinv').

Conversely we can also say that at the stage when the form has become ngranmrinv, dissimilation occurs and changes the final 'n' of 'nrv' into 'm' and we arrive at the form 'ngrannmrinv'.

(4) Finally 'ngrannmrinv' > 'ngrannlrv' owing to the Cantonese tendency of confusing 'n' and 'l' initials, or dissimilation occurring in the initial 'n' of 'nrv' because of the final 'n' of 'ngrann'.

There are, however, simpler cases of assimilation and dissimilation in Cantonese.

beebeng > bee peng = to compare
b > p by dissimilation

cheang-troy > cheang croy = moss
t > c by assimilation

dreifhong > dreang fhong = place, places
anticipation of 'ng' in 'fhong' causes
'drei' to become 'dreang'.

krac-mroo > krarm-mroo = mother's brother's wife
anticipation of 'm' in 'mroo' changes 'krac'
to 'krarm'.

✓ krao-proh > krarm-proh = grandmother's brother's wife.
by analogy with former; contrast krao-fruuv=
mother's brother where no change occurs in
'krao'.

naatlhilhung > naatnhinhung = foreign pirates
l > n by assimilation with the first initial
'n' (also laatlhilhung by assimilation or
owing to the tendency of confusing 'n' and
'l').

✓ saimhanzae > sammhanzae = child
anticipating 'm' in 'mhan'.

shaannbaarn > shaammbaarn = sampan
n > m, assimilation with labial 'b'.

shann-fruur > shamm-proo = bride

✓ 'proo' is an old pronunciation of the modern
fruur = woman, so the compound was shann-proo
and n > m by assimilation with labial 'p'.

thinnjrat > thenqjrat = tomorrow, anticipating the
further back position of 'j', final 'n' of
the first syllable becomes 'ng'.

troo-nghoh > trurug-nghoh = diarrhoea
anticipating 'ng' in 'nghoh'.

✓ troo-ngro > trurug ngro = hungry
anticipating 'ng' in 'ngro'.

✓ zaa-gaar-ji > gaa-gaarx-jix = to pretend
anticipating 'g' of 'gaarx', z > g in 'zaa'.

zram-sriu > zram-zriu = omen
s > z by assimilation.

✓ jhat-zran fhunq > jhat-zram fhunq = a gust of wind
anticipating labial 'f' in 'fhunq' n > m in
'zran'.

4. Archaisms.

a. Initials (simple and possible initial clusters)

✓ i. Simple. The Cantonese dialect has kept some old initials as compared with the National Language.

Cantonese

National Language

barn 𪛗

piin

bruun 𪛗

pann

cit 設

sheh

crunq 松

song

ngraar 瓦

woa

ngrae 蟻

yii

ngrann 銀

yn

ngraw 牛

niou

ngrinn 人 (rural)

ren

ngror 戎

woo

ngryh 魚 (rural)

yu

proo (婦) as in
colloquial compound for
'shannfuur' 新婦 'shammproo' =
bride.

fuh

prow colloquial for
'fraw' 浮

four

zreong 象

shianq

ii. Possible initial clusters - Initials of some words in Cantonese seem to point to earlier initial clusters, and in some cases both elements of the clusters exist as alternate forms in Cantonese.

✓ gl - group

gaaklhaakdae = armpit

✓ git, lit = a knot

✓ goklhoktrawv = corner

✓ gyrrn = to curl; lhynn = curly

jhat gyrrn, jhat lyrrn = a roll

✓ kl - group

✓ lor 顆 classifier for pearl

whereas in the National Language it is 'ke'.

sl-group

saae, laae = to lick with surface of the tongue.

✓ tl - group

trirm, lirm = to lick with tip of the tongue.

✓ wraat-thytthyt, wraat-lhytlhyt = very slippery.

✓ b. Finals. Apart from keeping the p t k and thus preserving the 'ruh' ~ or clipped tones the Cantonese dialect has preserved the m final in many words. 97915

✓ chaamm = to participate

craarm (a^{or} craarn) in mruunn craarm = threshold

craarm = to have a thorn or something sharp in one's flesh or something hurting one's foot.

✓ cramm = to sink

dam = to dangle downward

darm = to hit, to throw away

82 ✓ dhaamm = to carry a load or two loads on a pole.

✓ dhamm = to delay by dragging out the time.

✓ dram = to stamp one's foot

Done

- ghaamm = to force one to do something, to oversee.
- ✓ghammx = gold
- ghimm = together with, to annex
- ✓grim = frugal
- khamm = lasting, durable
- ✓kramm = to climb
- krimm = to pick up with tongs, pliers etc.
- ✓laam or naam = to step over
- ✓lam = to collapse (said of a house)
- ✓lramm = forest, wood
- lrimm = honest, cheap
- lrirm = to gather hands and sleeves together; to collect; tax.
- ✓sarm = a surname; father's younger brother's wife; to interrogate, to investigate.
- ✓shaamm = three
- ✓shamm = heart
- sram = very much, adverb of degree
- ✓srimm = Zen Buddhism
- ✓zam = to soak
- ✓zhaammx = hair pin
- ✓zhamm = needle
- ✓zram = to drown

B. Vocabulary and Structural Features Peculiar
to the Cantonese Dialect

General Remarks

In the study of Cantonese many Western authors pay

a great deal of attention to its complicated tonal system as will be shown by my survey of their descriptions under IV A, but only one of them, E.H. Parker, has dealt in some detail with the vocabulary and usage of words peculiar to the Cantonese Dialect. It may be said, however, that examples collected by him are not very numerous nor has he in any way systemmatized his observations. Lists of words have been given in scattered articles¹, and no attempt has been made to classify the words included in these lists. Another writer, J. Dyer Ball, tries to extract the special 'flavours' of the Cantonese final particles and all authors on this subject try more or less successfully to give some idea of Cantonese syntax. I shall not, however, concern myself in this thesis with giving a general picture of syntactical features which Cantonese shares with many or all Chinese dialects, but I shall merely confine myself to pointing out features that seem to be especially Cantonese in character. It would, furthermore, serve no useful purpose to attempt a detailed survey of the contributions of the authors mentioned above in the same way as I shall deal with their contributions regarding the tones in IV A. Instead, I am providing classified lists in which I shall include words collected

1. See E.H. Parker's articles in my bibliography.

by Parker in his articles as mentioned above, in the Yuehyeu Jyynan 粵語指南 and also a few words which occur in the Goangdong Shinyeu 廣東新語, but the major part of the material consists of examples taken from the spoken language, i.e. words that I either use myself or that I have heard used by other speakers of Cantonese. In the case of the first category I have in doubtful cases checked my usage against that of other speakers.

At this point I must mention that as Cantonese is a spoken (non-literary) rather than a written language, a large number of Cantonese words have not acquired the 'dignified' representation provided by characters. Attempts have been made, however, to represent some of these words or sounds by means of new creations, on the principle of sound representations, which therefore are called 'phonetic characters'. To give an example, the character lray 黎 'to come' is compounded of the radical 口 'mouth' and the character 黎 'black' which serves as a phonetic element. Although no part of the character gives the meaning of 'to come', the right hand side gives the correct sound and the 'mouth' on the left implies that we are dealing with this kind of 'new creations'. In this way Cantonese words - in the same way as Annamese words - managed to acquire character representation.

Though such new creations for 'peculiar' Cantonese words have been widely employed there are still a large number of colloquial words which have so far failed to

acquire a standardized character representation, and they live on only through oral transmission.

Another fact to be mentioned in connection with the word lists is that they include a fairly large number of words which are neither used nor understood by speakers of other Chinese dialects*, and this raises the problem of their origin. It is beyond the scope of this mainly descriptive thesis to trace the etymology of all these words to aboriginal and other languages with which the Cantonese dialect had contact but I have ventured to equate a few of them (see pp. 61-65).

A further noticeable feature of Cantonese which is evident from a study of the word lists is its archaic character. When we traced the history of the Cantonese dialect in Chapter II, we found that it went rather far back (3rd Century B.C.) in its establishment as a branch of the Chinese language, and so it is only to be expected that it has preserved some ancient words which have gone out of use in other dialects. I shall mention a few of these words as examples of archaic features in Cantonese, (See III B I d), (archaic features relating to the tones will be dealt with in IV).

Before passing on to a more detailed description, I would like to show as an illustration, how different

* except the Hakka dialect which has come under similar influences as Cantonese (though from a later date) in the same province.

CantoneseNational Language

this word was used. In the Fangyan
 思賢講舍
 edition 1891, J.2. p.7a the text
 reads as follows:— 睇音閑 睇音梯 — 呀也
 陳楚之間 南楚之外 曰睇)..

/dreng 定 for
 brea (rural)

或還, or

/mrh 唔 for

不, not

/ngr 唔 for

好, yes, all right.

The above introduction is limited to a very general (and superficial) survey. I shall now pass on to reviewing the non-tonal features of Cantonese in a detailed and systematic manner.

1. Vocabulary

The Vocabulary peculiar to Cantonese raises certain general issues which have already been partly touched on in Chapter II. In this section I shall be dealing with

- (a) a number of words common to Tai* and Cantonese only (as opposed to words common to Tai and Chinese in general — the latter kind of loan words, either from Chinese to Tai or vice versa, not being representative of the specially Cantonese-Tai traffic in vocabulary) and (b) other Cantonese words which appear to be of non-Chinese origin. Besides these two lists I also find it necessary to provide two others; one (c) consists of ordinary Chinese words which are used in Cantonese in a special sense, and one (d) which provides examples of archaisms in the Cantonese vocabulary.

* Tai Dialect spoken in Longjou 龍州 recorded in the Tai Dialect Lungchow 龍州土語 by Li Fang-Kuei.

a. Words common to both Tai and Cantonese (as opposed to words common to both Chinese and Tai).

One of the Cantonese words that would strike a person from another part of China as 'odd' is the word 'loo'

(佬), meaning 'man, full-grown man'. This was originally the name of a Tai tribe¹, and in the Goangdong Shinyeu the author says that it refers to men of low rank², as indeed it is often used in modern Cantonese with a shade of discrimination against the person referred to. The Cantonese words 'nghaam', a high level sound (cf. Longjou Tai (ŋa:m), ^{meaning 'just at the time, correct'} 'lhaan' meaning 'stall, market', as in 'ngraw-lhaan' 'cattle market' and 'shaanqgwor-lhaan' 'fruit stalls' (cf. Longjou Tai 'la:n' 'house'), and 'nhi' meaning 'this' (cf. Longjou Tai nai) are a few further everyday words shared by the Cantonese and Tai vocabularies.

Among names of birds the Cantonese kept the Tai word 'nlong' 'bird' for two species, namely the 'braaktraw-lrongx' 'white-head bird' and 'diujryh-lrongv' 'kingfisher', 'n' having been dropped from the initial cluster 'nl'.

According to Shyu Song-shyr³ 徐松石, the Cantonese people learned to reverse the order of compounds through following the syntax of Tai. As in the Tai languages the noun precedes the qualifying adjective or classifier, it is possible that the Cantonese by analogy reversed some

1. 佬佬獠 derived from the same word, the name of the Tai tribe 獠, according to Mr. Shyu Song-shyr in his History of the people of the Canton River Basin

2. 粵江流域人民史 p. 100.

3. J.11. p.21b. 平人曰獠亦曰獠賤稱也

3. loc. cit. p. 185.

of their own Chinese compounds, viz. chinⁿchawx for 鞦韆 and garn jiu for 要緊, daamthiwx for 挑担.

Mr. Shyu names the Tai order of words as 'upside down' 倒裝 (p. 185). He gives such examples as bearnghonnx 餅乾 'biscuit' meaning 'cake dry', sryhlronq 薯蓣 'a kind of coarse cloth made by the Tai of 良洞 i.e. 'cloth Lreong' instead of 'Lreong cloth', draugokv 豆角 'a kind of bean' literally 'bean horn' instead of 角豆 'horn bean', the order one expects to find in a Chinese compound. As further examples for reversed order he quotes dreigungcoo 地貢草 for 貢地草, crinngwuuncoo 錢貫草 for 貫錢草, ghayghunqx 雞公 for 公雞, ngrawgwuur 牛牯 for 牯牛, jrannxaak 人客 for 客人, fruujryr 腐乳 for 乳腐, jryhshaanq 魚生 for 生魚, (pp. 189 - 190). A specially interesting example provided by him is 'bhohlhuk' 'pomelo'. He says that the Tai word for pomelo is 'lrakbok' 勒薄 meaning 'fruit pomelo', sinicized in Goangshi to 'lruk^hbhuk' 六卜 (loc. cit. p. 230) but the Cantonese were so used to the 'inverted' 倒裝 order, the manner of speech among the Tai, that they unwittingly reversed the syllables of this Tai name for pomelo. There is a Chinese name for the same fruit, namely jrawv 柚, but 'bhoh^hbhuk' apparently a non-Chinese name, is just as frequently used. (cf. Longjou Tai 'puk' 'pomelo').

In addition to the above the Cantonese have become as superstitious as their aboriginal neighbours and

Mr. Shyu attributed to Tai influence the avoiding of the mention of a word which has a homophone with an unlucky connotation. The Cantonese are said to have changed the word 'srit' (舌) 'tongue' which has a homophone meaning 'to lose capital, to lose money' into 'lrei' (利) which has the homophone meaning 'profit'. 利 is a new 'creation' with the flesh radical (130) on the left and the character 'lrei' 利 'profit' on the right and in the colloquial language the proper word for tongue 'srit' has gone out completely. The word 'lrei' 'tongue' may of course be just a loan word from Tai. It has the initial (l) which is the initial for the word for 'tongue' and for words connected with the tongue in many languages - for instance the Tibetan word for 'tongue' is lje or ljags and the Longjou Tai word for the same is 'lin?'. But there is good reason for Mr. Shyu to suppose this superstition in the Cantonese as I can support his observation with the Cantonese name for their 'calendar book' 'Thungxseng' which should have been called 'Thungshyh'. 'Shyh' 'book' was changed into 'seng' merely because the former sound has a homophone meaning 'to lose in betting, in battle, or competition' whereas the latter means 'to win, victory'.

Another noticeable feature of (Tai influence) is found in subdialects in districts not far from Canton, namely the changing of the initial 's' in Seijhap (Seiyap) 四邑 and its neighbouring districts into a sound similar to the Welsh 'll', with the exception that it is a bilateral 'll'

in the Cantonese subdialects (and in Tai) whereas it is unilateral in Welsh.

On the subject of Tai influence, it may not be out of place to compare the manner of emphasis in repetitive adjectives, showing the degree of intensity.

Miss E. Henderson in her lecture to the Philological Society entitled The Phonology of Loan words in some South East Asian Languages gave an example of Siamese intonation:

{ ^di: ˉdi: 'very good'
 ^ma:k \ma:k 'very big', showing that the emphasis
 or stress fell on the first syllable.

In other words, the first syllables have been 'modified' in tone to express the adverb of degree 'very'. I have been told by a Siamese student that if one wishes to express the idea of 'rather' as in the phrase 'slowly, or rather slow', the 'modification' happens in the second syllable: sasa: namely a longish glide with a slight raising of the voice is used to express the 'slowing down'. These correspond to the Cantonese way of expressing 'very' and 'rather', that is, placing the emphasis or modification on the first syllable of the repetitive adjectives for 'very' and on the second syllable for 'rather'.

Cantonese examples:-

draaivdraai 'very big'

mraanmraanv 'slowly, rather slow'

Other similarities between Tai and Cantonese usages are

1. Repetition of a classifier for the distributive 'every, each', viz.

15-13
 kin = branch, and kiki = every branch (Longjou Tai)
 zhih = branch, and zhihzhhih = every branch (Cantonese)

2. Repetitive adverbs

tautau = at first, in the beginning (Longjou Tai)
 trawtrawv = at first, in the beginning (Cantonese)

pe:kpe:k = for nothing, in vain (Longjou Tai)
 braakbraak = for nothing, in vain (Cantonese)

Looking at the most common words in Cantonese one is occasionally intrigued by their dissimilarity with their counterparts in most other Chinese dialects. The plural for personal pronouns 'drei' has long attracted my curiosity. In Longjou Tai 'ti' is its counterpart. Mr. Shyu (loc. cit. p. 142) points out that the Yau 僮 working teams called themselves collectively 僮隊 (literally 1st person team) for 'we', 你隊 (literally 2nd person team) for 'you' and that 'dreoi' 隊 became 'drei' of the plural suffix for personal pronouns (and proper nouns) in Cantonese. Whether the ancient Cantonese worked in teams and spoke collectively as a team as well, we do not know, but the change from 'dreoi' to 'drei' seems possible, the tone is the same for both words. In any case the Yau 隊 and the Tai 'ti' as plural suffixes appear to be near relations of the Cantonese 'drei'. Of course, one cannot rule out the possibility that both the Cantonese 'drei' and Tai 'ti' came from archaic Chinese. In Karlgren's Analytical Dictionary Series 811 等 we have the pair 'tâi and 'təng: 'tâi could become 'drei' through umlaut or the Cantonese 'drei' is derived from a dialect other than that of the Chie Yunn 切韻 (601 A.D.)

15-14

It is possible that in the near future linguists can equate a large number of Cantonese words which are definitely non-Chinese with words of aboriginal languages still preserved in Goangdong 廣東, Goangshi 廣西, and Gueyjou 貴州 Provinces. It would not be possible for me in this thesis, to equate Cantonese words with their counterparts in each and every aboriginal language in and around Goangdong, but since the Tai languages or dialects have many more linguistic featuresⁱⁿ common with the Cantonese dialect than the other aboriginal languages, I am providing a list of words in (i) taken from The Tai Dialect of Lungchow by Li Fang-Kuei for comparison with their possible counterparts in Cantonese.

As a further reminder of Tai influence in Boangdong and Goangshi, there are hundreds of place-names in these provinces which do not make sense if they are taken as names of Chinese origin, as they seem to bear no relationship to their actual surroundings or vicinity or their natural geographical features, but it is quite otherwise when we consider them as a possible transliteration of Tai words into Chinese characters. Such names include Tai words like 'na' 'field', Cantonese transliteration 'nraah' 那, 'waan or baan' 'village', Cantonese transliteration 'wrann' 雲, or 'baarn' 板. I shall provide some examples of these place-names in (ii).

i. Longjou 龍州 Tai words compared with similar Cantonese words.

<u>Longjou Tai</u>	<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Cantonese</u>
/ ʔum 4	bud	lhammx
/ bo:k 7 bo:k 7	木魚 兒 wooden drum	bhok bhok or bhok-jryhv
bw 7 na:i 7	厭倦 tired	naai (rural)
/ ɕai 1 (使) ¹	用, 須 to need, use, spend.	sae
ɕa:u 7 (k'au 4 ɕa:u 7)	糙米 half-husked rice.	saaui (husk)
/ ɕi:n 1 ki 1	乞祈 to beg urgently, must.	chinnkrey
/ ɕit 7 (七)	funeral ceremony repeated every seven days (theoretically) after death	chat
ɕo:ŋ 1 (爽)	happy	sorng
ɕw 7	處 place, point	sy
da:t 7	to burn (the fingers such as the fire or hot iron does).	naat
dau 4	若 betel, the leaf of which is used together with betel nuts for chewing,	lhawx
de:ŋ 1 kwaj 1	紅貌 red	xrunq-gwranq-gwranq (very red)
/ di 1	避藏 to hide	nhih
/ diŋ 7	扔 to throw away	deang
/ fan 2 1	玩 to play	fraannv
/ fa:n 7 (反)	返 to return, to turn back again	fhaann
/ fuŋ 1	classifier for wall	frung, brung

1. Words in brackets are Cantonese words given by Li Fang-kuei.

<u>Longjou Tai</u>	<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Cantonese</u>
ham + pa + la:ŋ +	完全 entirely, completely, altogether	xrambralraang
ha:u + lum	呵欠 a yawn	xaamlrou
hən	怒生氣 angry	nhaw-xhang-xhang
hiŋ +	烤火 to warm oneself at the fire	xeng (to warm; warm; a fever)
hou + (好)	很 very	xoo
hum	蓋 to cover up	karm, xarm (rural) xram
huŋ +	煮 to cook	xong (to toast)
jiŋ (如) as in patjiŋ	had better ... (rather than)	bhatjrih (palat- alization) both in this dialect and Cantonese)
ka + ɕai + (架勢)	壯麗 (粵) ¹ magnificent	gaasai
kak ʔ ke ʔ	蛤蜊 a kind of lizard	gapgwaaiv
ka:t ʔ	一種薯 a kind of potato	gotv
ka:u ʔ	塊 (粵) a piece, a mess (numeral classifier)	grau
kau ʔ	的 (粵) genitive particle	gea
ke +	抓 to scratch	nghaaw
ke:u ʔ (nuk ʔ ke:u)	八哥鳥 mynah	lhiughohx ² (init. initial of nrio n > 1)
kən + ʔi:u ʔ	要緊 important	garnjiu
kia:ŋ + (講)	to say, to speak	gorng
k'am? ʔ (姪)	舅母 (vocative) aunt (wife of mother's younger brother)	A krarm

1. Li Fang-kuei notes what he considers to be purely Cantonese dialectic words thus.

2. This is another case of the Cantonese following Tai word-order ghoh nrio becomes lhiu-ghohx.

<u>Longjou Tai</u>	<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Cantonese</u>
k'e:u ㄟ (巧)	clever	kio (skilful, complicated, strange)
k'o:p ㄟ	咬 to bite	krap
la ㄟ ㄟ	啦, 咯 a final particle	lha, la
la ㄟ	the last (born child)	lhaai
lam ㄟ (淋)	to water (vegetables, flowers, etc.)	lamm
lam ㄟ	急 in a hurry	lammkramm
la:n ㄟ (la:n ㄟ ha:i ㄟ)	一死兒 to insist very obstinately	lraan, lraanv
lan ㄟ tɛan ㄟ	麻煩 (粵) tedious, clumsy, exasperating	lreonzreon
la:ŋ ㄟ ㄟ	涮 (粵) to rinse (mouth)	lorng, lrorng
le:k ㄟ	腺 gland	lreakv (shaan) gearng lreakv= to have goitre
lin ㄟ ㄟ	舌 tongue	lrei
li:u ㄟ	游玩 to play, to amuse oneself	lriu
lo ㄟ	咯, 啦 a final particle for emphasis	lho, lor
lo ㄟ bo ㄟ	咯 a final particle meaning 'of course'	loboz
lu:k ㄟ (燙) (熱水)	(粵?) to scald (with hot water)	lrak
lu:t ㄟ	溜出, 掉 to slip out	lhyt
nak ㄟ	重 heavy	crurng-nrek-nrek, crurng-nrak-nrak. (very heavy)
na:m ㄟ	喃 to chant prayer (Buddhist loan word)	nraamm

<u>Longjou Tai</u>	<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Cantonese</u>
nam ㄋㄢˊ	思想 (粵) to think, to deliberate	narm
na:ŋ ㄋㄚːŋ	娘 lady	nreong
naŋ ㄋㄚˋ ka ㄎㄚˊ	疤 scar (on face, specially near the eyes)	nhang ghai nhangghai
ne:nʔ ㄋㄟːㄋʔ (撚)	撚 to work in clay-like substance	nirn, nrit.
ni ㄋㄧˊ ti ㄊㄧˊ	你們 you (plural)	nreedrei
ɲai ㄋㄞˊ	求, 懇求 to entreat	nghay
ɲa:m ㄋㄞːㄇˊ (ㄞ)	剛好, 剛剛 just, just on time, suitable, correct.	nghaam, nghaama nghaam
ɲo ㄋㄞˊ ti ㄊㄧˊ	我們 we	ngrordrei
pia:t ㄆㄧㄚːㄊˊ	霉爛 soft, rotten	lraan-preat prea
puk ㄆㄨˋ	柚 pomelo	bhoh lhuk
p'an ㄆㄢˊ lan ㄌㄢˊ	匆忙 in a hurry, hastily	prannlraan
to ㄊㄠˊ (都)	還 even, still (都 not meaning 'all' as in National Language) an emphatic particle.	dhou
t'a:n ㄊㄞˊ (t'a:n ㄊㄞˊ ki ㄎㄧˊ)	(粵語?) 享福 to enjoy life	taan, taangei
t'au ㄊㄞˊ	a word added to kinship terms to denote a man's senior relatives,	lroodrau (father
t'u:t ㄊㄞˊ *	套 (衣服) suit (of clothes)	tyt
tɕa:n ㄊㄞˊ	剩 (粵) to be left over; surplus, to make profit, to earn	zreng, sreng
tɕa:u ㄊㄞˊ	搖船 (粵) to row (a boat)	zraau

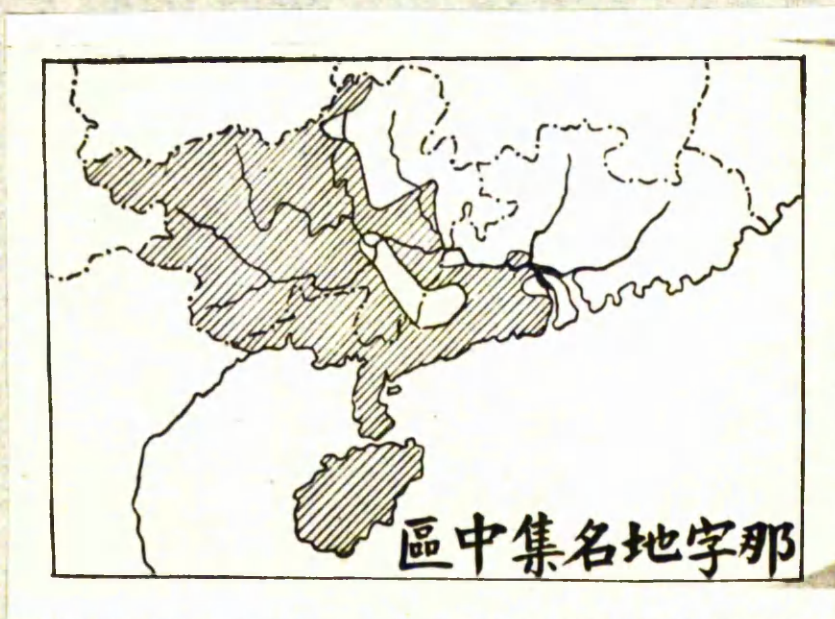
* the Cantonese verb for 'to take off' 脫 is exactly the same as the classifier 'a suit of', namely 'tyt' for both meanings whereas in Longjou Tai the word for 'to take off' is t'ut, with a short 'u' as opposed to the long 'u' in the classifier t'u:t,

<u>Longjou Tai</u>	<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Cantonese</u>
təau ⁷	炸 to fry	zaau
təun ⁷ ʔi ⁷	中意 to like	zhunqji
vat ⁷	掘 (以手) to dig (with hands)	waat (to dig deep with fingers or tool)
ʔə:p ⁷	醃(菜) to pickle	jip

ii. Place names with the character 那 which means 'field' in Tai but 'that' in Cantonese.

都那 in 番禺 ; 那伏 in 新會 , 那州 in 中山 ,
那扶墟 in 台山 ; 那落村 in 清遠 , 那落墟 in 高要 ,
那康 in 新興 , 那吉墟 in 恩平 , 那波塘 in 開平 .

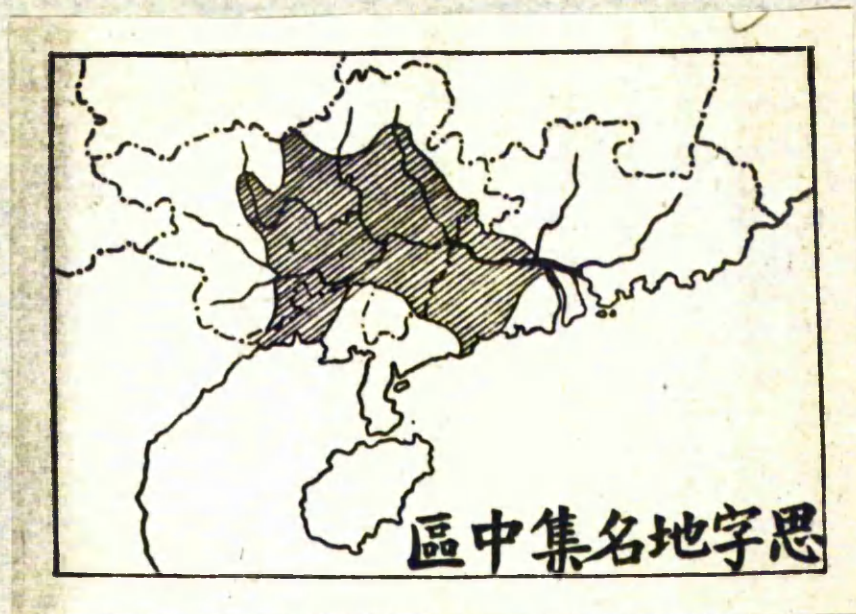
Such names are scattered in Goangdong, Goangshi, and Gueyjou, and the following map shows the districts where this particular character occurs (History of the peoples of the Canton River Basin, p. 192)



Place names with the character 思, which means 'stream' in Tai but 'think of, in memory of' in Chinese.

思霖園 in 高要, 思來村 in 新興, 思羅 in 德慶, 思料 in 開建, 思倫江 in 欽縣, 思農塘 in 宜山, 思陰 in 桂平.

The following map shows the districts where this particular character occurs (loc. cit. p. 197)

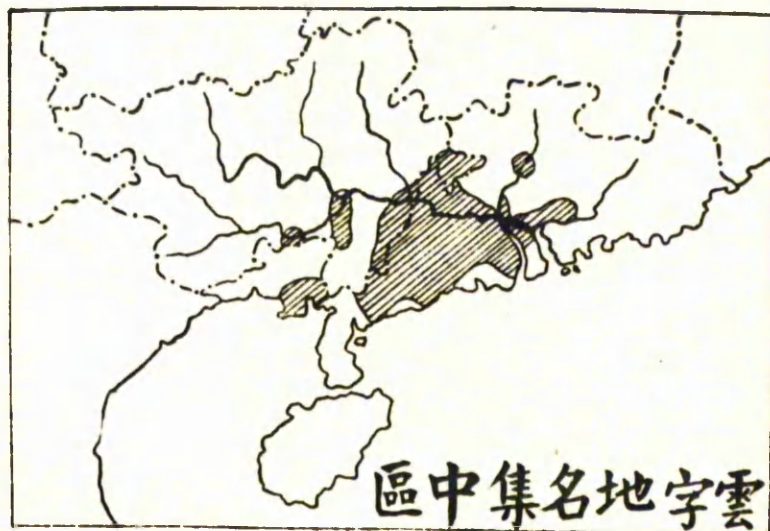


Place names with the character 雲 or 板 which mean 'village' in Tai but 'cloud' or 'board' in Chinese.

雲馬山 in 增城, 雲步墟 in 海陽, 雲落司 in 普寧,
雲羅 in 新興, 雲霍 in 陽春, 雲宿水 in 高明; 板正 in
龍勝, 板料 in 雜容, 板臘 in 羅城, 板攬 in
融縣, 板良 in 天河, 板嘔 in 崇善, 板暮 in
東蘭.

The following map shows the districts where these particular characters occur (loc. cit. p. 205-6).

✓
an
in
00273



b. Words (other than Tai) not found in other Chinese Dialects except Hakka.

1. Nouns

B

✓ bee = thick part of leg (of chicken, duck, etc.)
'draai bee' 'thigh'.

C

chimmx = wedge shape, as in 'daar go chimmx'
'make or do the posture of kneeling on one knee'.

✓ croy = moss in 'cheand croy' 'green moss'.

D

daat = a matting as in 'zhuk daat' 'a mat to keep off sun and rain'.

dheonqx = tip as in 'jrir zae dheonqx' 'tip of ear'.

F

that = hole as in 'zoufhat' 'the hole of the oven'.

G

- gaap gwaaiiv } = a sort of toad.
gap gwaaiiv }

- gok lhok trawv = corner.

- grong = crab's or lobster's pincers, 'xraae grong'
'crab's pincers'.

gryt = a piece, a section, having reference to an article of 2 different colours or several sections.

gwaa-naai = link, anxiety through having relations.
As in 'Ngror mroo gwaa-naai geā' 'I have no relations; hence no anxiety about anyone'.

J

jhaau = limb? in 'sae zor jhaau' 'using left hand or left foot, i.e. being left-handed or left-footed'.

jhammx = a fringe as in lhaw jhammx = to have
(or wear) a fringe.

jhih jhuk = motion, movement, indication of change
of political situation, as in 'jhat jrao
mhi-jrear jhih jhuk, zrau jiu zao' 'As
soon as there is any movement or change
of circumstances, it is necessary to run
away'.

K

-khak } = a knot, as in 'daar go khak (or khek)', 'to
kheh } tie a knot'

L

✓lho = a sort of bamboo fish net, basket, from 'lroh'
'basket'. 'craah wruuh lho' 'a kind of tea
cosy'. 'lho' in 'baak lho' 'the 100th
day after a birth'.

longv = a frame-work as in 'daap go longv' 'to build
a framework'.

✓lraap saap = Bitter.

✓lrang = a mark on skin after a stroke of cane etc.
(also wrang from 'wraang' 'horizontal').

N

✓naar = a female fowl, animal, etc.

✓nhaah nang = relationship, link as in 'ngror trung
kreoe mroo nhaahnang gea' 'I have nothing to
do with him, I am not related to him' 'nhaah'
by itself means 'on behalf of', as in
'ngror nhaah kreoe zrou sri' 'I work for him'.

Ng

-nghaa chaahx = an angle piece of twig.

-ngrann = seeds.

P

-pheang = back (of chair) as in 'jrir pheang'.

proo = lather, also in seoe proo = sponge or
life belt or life buoy.

S

shak = great grand child, from 'shek' 'offspring'?

W

wronq gheangx = a small brown antelope.

Z

zarm = growth of hard skin.

zryn = the centre or starting point of one's hair,
usually at the very top of one's head.

Pronouns

K

kreoe dre1 = they 'dre1' equated with Tai word
ti ↓. (See p. 64)

ii. Adjectives

B

braang = across, stretching out, to be in the way,
not in a proper posture, as in 'braang
jr1r' 'with ears sticking outwards', or
in 'ngraa xhoy bee braang, or ngraa bee
ngraa braang' 'sitting astride in a
slovenly manner'.

C

ceon = crazy, cranky. See also 'naau' and 'srarn'.

D

dear = touchy, liable to weep, said of spoilt
children.

dhiwmhan = very spoilt from 'dhiw mraann' 'unreasonable'?

doudan = stupid and weak in action or in argument,
tactless, clumsy behaviour, putting one's
foot in it.

drim = straight, vertical. 'mrh dhak drim'
'insolvent'.

F

fai faidu dai = behaving like an idiot.

- fhongfhongzheongzheong = looking very frightened.

G

grit = thick (liquid).

- gwruui¹ = tired.

J

jheanhzheah = too sensitive, fussy, meticulous.

jhek = rancid, decayed flavour, mouldy smell.

✓jhinhjinhjhukjhuk = fidgetty.

jrihxhey = dangerous, nearly collapsing.

K

kaalaav = double or divided stake; a double entendre, something between prongs of angle or in the space between two things.

kang = capable, able but conceited.

kio = strangely enough, from 'xaao' 'skilled'?
'nghaam kio' means 'agreeing exactly, to be great friends'. In the phrase 'sri jrao cau xaao' 'it happens that it is a coincidence' the word 'xaao' seems to be related to 'kio'. The colloquial form is 'jrao gam nghaam, dhak gam kio'.

✓kreelree = clean and tidy.

L

lau xao = stutter. See also 'lrao xao'.

✓leang = beautiful, attractive, pretty.

- leng = bright, glistening as in 'saap saap leng' 'very bright'.

lhaai mreex = the last. The word lhaai equated with the Tai word la¹, 𑜋. (See p. 63).

lhakkhak = rugged, said of stone or path or of speech or words, like tongue twisters; complicated.

1. Jou Chiuh Fei 周吉非 in his Liingway Daydar 嶺外代誌 recording the Cantonese speech of his time says 貧困無力 曰力匱; and 匱 is significant in likeness of sound to 痛 gwruui and in its meaning of 'exhausted, failing, deficient'.

^{3/4}lhaphhap = untidy, dilapidated, said of a house.
See also 'lraphhap'.

lhawzhaw = in rags.

lheak = smart, conceited, overbearing, as in
'lraanv lheak garm' 'full of conceit'.

lheang (zae) = the mere boy or child, a diminutive
appellation.

lheonnzheom } = grouching, complaining unnecessarily,
lheetzheet } hard to please.

-lheoyzheoy = clumsy, stupid. See also 'lreoi zreoi'.

lhohlhohlhynn = with a lingering illness.

-lhou (jrat) = the other day (rural).

liokio = very complicated, difficult to understand.

-lraarzaar = dirty. See also 'lraattaat' and 'whuuh
zhow'.

lraattaat = dirty. See also 'lraar zaar' and
'whuuh zhow'.

^{1/3}lraaydhaay = careless, untidy and forgetful.

-lrakdrak = brusque, odd-looking, as in 'wruuh-show
lrakdrak' 'unshaven, beard like barbs',
lrak = thorn, drak = stick.

lrammkramm = hustling, hurried. lramm equated with
✓ ^{1/3}lramm _h Tai word lam = in a hurry. (See p 63)

lrao xao = stutter. See also 'lau xao'.

lraphhap = untidy, dilapidated, said of a house.
See also lhaphhap.

lrammdarm = frequently, in succession, as in 'lram-
darm gam cheot lray' 'coming out all the
time'.

-lraubrau = wearing a lot of thick clothes and
appearing clumsy and bulky.

-lreahfreah = untidy in mind or appearance. See also
'lrear frear'.

lreahxea = clumsy, cannot hold together a lot of things as in 'kreoe lreahv gam xea' 'he is dropping things from his hands all over the place, he cannot manage.'

lreanqkreanq = having medicinal efficacy, possibly from 'lrenq' 'magic power'.

lrearfrear = untidy in mind or appearance. See also 'lreah-freah'.

lreoizreoi = clumsy, stupid. See also 'lheoy-zheoy'.

lreonzreon = clumsy, exasperatingly clumsy. Possibly from the Tai word lan↓ t- an↓. (See p. 63)

lriokrio = very knotted, complicated, difficult to follow owing to too many bends.

M

< man = at the edge, near the edge or end of, as in 'xoo man lak' 'very near the edge, dangerous', and in 'man mreex' 'the last', ^{the very end}

marn sri = pouting, spiteful, taking offence easily, throwing a tantrum.

- marngzarng = irritable. See also 'mhang-zhanq'.

mear = awry, not straight, as in 'mear zeoe' 'not-straight mouth'.

mhangzhanq = irritable. See also 'marng-zarng'.

mhihmhihmhohmhoh } = slow, doing little things in
(mhihmhihmormor) } too great detail.

mio sri = to be scornful from 'mrio sri' 'distant viewing'?

N

naau = cranky (rural). See also 'ceon' and 'srarn'.

- nhaw = angry, from 'nrou' 'angry'?

- nhunq = burned (over-fried or over-roasted).

nram = ink too watery or thin and spreading, said of
 a person who is not active or agile. 'draai
 nram' 'clumsy, not agile, getting tired
 quickly in walking'. In 'sruk dou nram' it
 means one has read a passage so many times
 that one's knowledge of it is ripe and
 mellow, and one can recite it fluently (from
 'nramm' 'well cooked'?).

Ng

ngchapzhap = dilapidated, untidy, old, dirty (said of
 a place or house).

ngraazraa = to be a busybody, to be obstructive,
 interfering.

ngrammeramm = muttering complaints, grouching.

ngraudrau = dull, stupid, languid.

Q

qhohlheyghatdai = dirty, untidy, a ruined rake,
 immoral.

S

saap = meaning uncertain. 'saap xei' 'causing bother,
 irritating, annoying'. 'mrh daap mrh saap'
 'one won't answer plainly, not giving a
 responsible answer or response' 'mroo daap
 saap' 'unreliable, unsteady'.

serng = smart, forward, clever. As in 'lraanv serng
 garm' 'over confident'.

shapseoi
 shapshapseoiseoi
 shapshapshengshengx } = miscellaneous.

sheanq mruun = hard to please; literally 'fishy
 smell causing nausea'.

shihshihshukshuk = timid, too shy.

srarn = crazy, cranky. See also 'ceon' and 'naau'.

W

whanndran = absent-minded, as in 'whannwhanndran-
 dran' 'in the state of forgetting' 'over-
 worried, not knowing what one is doing'.

✓ whuuh_lhey_dhaan_dhow = in great confusion or disorder, disorderly, not observing rules of logic, decorum or morality.

whuuh_zhow = dirty. See also 'lraarzaar' and 'lraattaat'.

whuuh_zhow wranndran = dizzy as in 'wrannwranndrandran' 'having a bilious headache'. See also 'whanndran'.

— wratdrat = nauseating.

X

— xorng (creoy) = musty smell. *h'j*

— xraaw = (said of women) showing too much eagerness in trying to attract men's attention - used in compound 'xraaw dhidhat' 'too forward in pursuit of men'. *hav*

h'j xranq = tight, taut as in 'mhanq xranq' 'pull tight'.

Z

— zaarn = good, tip top, satisfactory; complacent, satisfied with oneself, 'lraanv zaarn garm' 'too satisfied with oneself'.

zeoi = tiresome as in 'zeoi xei' or 'cam zeoi' 'long-winded'. From zreoi 贅 ?.

— zheanq gwahaay = clever, capable, said of a child or young person. *h'j*

Adjectives with duplicated syllables in the beginning.

— driu-driuv feng = dangling.

— lrap-lrapv lryn = in great disorder, untidy.

— mraah-mraahv dreiv = lenient, to allow extenuating circumstances, neither too good nor too bad.

h'j }
— saap-saap leng
— laap-laap leng
— lraap-lraapv leng } = bright, glistening.

— trann-trannv zan = trembling.

Adjectives with duplicated syllables at the end.

- cheang bhei-bhei } = very green.
 cheang ^{hau}ng^{au}haaw-ng^{au}haaw }
 creong lriw-lriw = very long.
- frey trann-trann = very fat.
- ghow drung-drung = very tall.
- gwhong ^{va}cr^{au}amm-cr^{au}amm } = very bright.
 gwhong craanq-craanq }
- jryrn nramm-nramm } = soft, nice to the touch, as
 jryrn jramm-jramm } a soft fluffy object.
- ^{hau}lra^{au}amm ^{va}whuut-whuut = very blue.
- lraan preat-preat = soft and rotten, messy, 'preat'
 equated with the Tai word 'pia:t ↓' (See p. 64)
- lruk ^{hau}mhung-mhung } = very green.
 lruk waangwaang }
- nhaw-nhaw-baau } = pointing, angry.
 nhaw baau-baau }
- nramm breah-breah = with no firmness of will, easily
 persuaded to do anything.
- nramm breat-breat } = very soft, over cooked to the
 nramm preat-preat } point of being sloppy and pulpy.
- ngae dhat-dhat } = very short.
 ngae dhi-dhat } ^{hau}
- saarn ^{hau}shaw-shaw = untidy, not tied together.
 (or shaw-shaw saarn)
- sau mhaang-mhaang } = very thin.
 sau maarng-maarng }
- sheang ^{skow}xhamm-xhamm = fishy smell.
 sheang xhamm-xhamm = smelling like a new born baby
 or milk or mutton.
- shuk ^{hau}xhang-xhang = stale smell.
- shynn bhey-bhey } = very sour.
 shynn lhaw-lhaw }

traarm mraw-mraw }
 traarm mrau-meau } = tasteless, very insipid.
 traarm mrit-mrit }

wraanq bhaanq-bhaang = behaving unreasonably.

- wraat lhyt-lhyt } = very slippery, too slippery to
 - wraat thyt-thyt } hold.

- wraat trann-trann = smooth and soft like a jelly, too soft to hold.

- wrong gramm-gramm }
 - wrong kramm-kramm } = very yellow.
 - wrong nranq-nranq }
 - wrong qhamm-qhamm }

- xhaak mrak-mrak } = very black or dark.
 - xhaak mranq-mranq }

- xhung lhiw-lhiw = very empty.

- xraay sraap-sraap = very rough.

- zan trann-trann = trembling.
 (or trann-trannv zan)

iii. Verbs

B

- ^{bh}ban = to plait as in 'ban bhinnx' 'to plait a queue'.

- bhat = to ladle. See also 'fhat'.

C

✓ caau = to rummage, to look for, to search, as in 'caau shannx' 'to search someone'.

caang = to put legs against something or put legs
 up to support a table. Also 'caang ngraarn'
 'bright light hurting one's eyes'. See also
 'craamm' and 'craanq'.

✓ cau = to look after as in 'cau zae' 'to look after
 a child'. Also 'on behalf of' as in 'ngror
 cau nree zrou' 'I'll do it for you'.

✓ ceok = to scald in hot water. 6/27/45

chaaw = to butt with horns.

craamm } = sun's rays or bright light hurting one's
craanq } eyes.

craar = (possibly from craah 'to daub, apply ointment')
to daub over, to scribble, to talk at a person,
to hint sarcastically at a person.

craaw = creased as in 'craaw prey' 'rough or
crinkled skin', from 'zau' 'crinkle, ripple?'

creorn = to gobble, to stuff, as in 'lryn gam creorn'
'to gobble up wolfishly without propriety'.

D

daat = to throw at as in 'daat jhat brat nray lrok
kreoe shannx-sy' 'throw a blob of mud on
to his body'. See 'daat or zhuk daat'
'matting to keep off sun and rain'; to fall,
see also 'dit' 'gwaan'.

✓ dam = to dangle down, to let down (a rope).

✓ dau = to touch. See also 'dim'.

deak = to run away as in 'deak ghaanqx', also in
'deak cear' 'to drive (someone) out'.

deoe gwae = to play tricks on, to tell tales of some
one to one's superiors, causing one to lose
one's job or get into trouble; to make
mischief for some one. See also 'doo gwae'.

✓ dhaap = to smack one's lips.

✓ dhamm = to waste time, as in 'dhamm jrat zir' 'to
drag on for a long time in doing or making
something'.

✓ dhap = to lower head or tail, as in 'dhap dhay go
trawz' 'to lower the head'; 'dhap xee triw
mree' 'to lower the tail' 'trailing tail
between hind legs'.

dhat = to put down (rudely), 'dhat doo sy' means
'to sit down heavily and not stir for
anything'.

dhaw = to approach some one for contact, to try to
make friends with some one. 'mrh dhawx
mrh xhawx' means 'taking no notice of the
flatterer, lover, etc.'.

✓ dhek = to lift up. *h*

✓ dheong = to peck at (from 'deok' 'to peck'?).

dim = to touch with finger tip from 'dirm' 'dot'?
See also 'dau'.

De

dirm = to writhe as in 'dirm dirm xraarv' 'to writhe in pain'.

✓ doo gwai = to play tricks on some one, to make mischief for some one. See also 'deee gwae' which is the more common pronunciation.

h

dor(mraay) = to hide. See also 'nai' and 'nhih'.

drau = to take as in 'drau baar' or 'drau fo' 'to take bribe'. 'drau nray' 'to be absolutely down and out' (slang now dying out).

✓ *g* break (mrae) = to buy in rice.

✓ *h* drok = to walk slowly. *h*

drung = to make something stand up as in 'drung dhuk kee' 'to make stand vertically'.

F

✓ fhat = to ladle. See also 'bhat'.

✓ freng = to swing something, to shake off water.

G

✓ gaak (zry) } = to ward off a blow with the arm.
gaang (zry) }

✓ ghat = to pierce with sword, to jab, to stab. *h*

✓ *h* ghynn = to crawl through a hole or tunnel.

✓ *h* graa (zry) = to bar another's way. See also 'zraa'.
cf. 'ngraa zraa'.

✓ *h* graang = to put arms so as to be in another's way.
Graag saog graang geok' means 'awkward in movement'.

grai = to trick as in 'grai jrann' 'to play a joke on people, to fool people'.

gram = to press down on something with hand.

grat = to stand on tip toe, to lift up body.

✓griu = to lever.

✓gwaak = to slap.

✓gwaan = to fall down.

✓gwhaa drau = to die (slang).

J

jaae = to read upon. See also 'naae'.

✓jaak = to eat.

✓jeorng = to shake tablecloth, clothes, etc.

jhap (ngraarn) = to blink one's eyes, used also in
(Y) 'ngraann jhap mrowv' 'eye lashes'. See
(H) also 'nghap'.

jhaw = to pull up as in 'jhaw xee triw fuu' 'to
lift up the trousers'; from 'chaw' 抽 'to
pull up'?

jhenq = to raise one's upper lip so as to show the
teeth and gum, to be scornful, as in
'jhenq xee go xao' 'to sneer'. See also
'jhiih'.

jhih = to raise upper lip as in 'jhiih xraar go xao'
'to raise upper lip in order to sneer'.
See also 'jhenq'.

✓jhuk = to move.

jio = to ladle. See also 'fhat' and 'bhat'.

✓jip = to pickle, to sweat a place sore, to fester,
as a wet dirty spot, where sweat causes
rotting; in its meaning 'to pickle'
equated with Tai word ? a : p 7 (See p. 65)

K

kaai = causative verb, also pronounced 'xaai'.

✓karm = to cover up, to close lid.

keak = to wind round (to save the trouble of tying a knot), to make a special kind of knot (needle work), to make a special stitch as in 'keak nao mruunn' 'to sew a button hole'.

khaah = to throttle, as in 'kreoe khaah zry ngror' 'he prevents me from having freedom of action (because he is above me in position, rank or age).

khak = (a rope or thread) catches, to stop a rope or something unwinding with a knot. 'khak sao' means 'meeting with opposition or difficulty when performing an action'.

khaw (wrann) = to mix (evenly), to stir well.

— khenq graiv = to have a chat. 10 h 5 h 1

khok = to knock on the head.

— kramm = to climb, to scale heights.

— krio = to wind a thread or a rope. 'krio zry geok' means 'to catch the foot in' and 'kriov geok' means 'with crossed legs'.

kwaang or = to hook and tear, to graze one's skin
kwang with a thorn, barb, etc.

L

— laae = to lick with blade of tongue. See also
1/2 m 'lirm' and 'lrirm'.

— laap = to collect together with a sweep of the hand.
See also 'lrip, lryt and lyt'.

— laar = to pick up with all fingers and thumb in claw-like fashion. Also 'laar lren' 'having a taste which bites the tongue' 'saarn laar' 'to take on lovers indiscriminately' or 'laar xee triw kwrann' 'lift up the skirt'.

lae = to twist round, as in 'lae zyn trawv' 'to turn one's head round' and 'fan lae gearng' 'twisted one's neck in sleep, having a stiff neck'.

larm = to flatter some one, to guess at another's desire in order to please, as in 'xoo shek larm jrann' 'knowing very well how to please people'.

leor = to wheedle or pester some one as a child does by tearful entreaty, or stamping of foot.

lhaann = to crawl, as in 'lhaann shih' 'Go away' literally 'crawl away'.

lhaaw = to grab (money or person), to arrest, to dredge for fish or something in water. See also 'lraaw'.

lhiu (jrann) = to run away from responsibility, law, trouble, etc.

lio = to reach with a stick to get at something. See also 'liokio'. Also used in 'lio zri(v)' 'cursive script'.

lirm = to lick with tip of tongue. See also 'lrirm', 'laae' and 'sraae'.

long = to put something on a frame work high from the ground.

lor = to take, to fetch.

lraaw = to dredge for fish or something in water. See also 'lhaaw'.

lrai = to look angrily at some one, to look through corner of eye signifying displeasure.

lray = to come instead of 'lroy' the literary word for 'to come'.

lrorong drong = to loaf as in 'xraann jaw lrorong drong' 'loafing about'.

lreak xhoy = to rip open.

lrip = to smooth and gather together (bunch of hair, beard, etc.)

lrirm = to lick with tip of tongue. See also 'lirm' 'laae' 'saae'.

lrirn = to move things piecemeal from one side to another.

- lin - grip firmly

-lriw = to tease, to start quarrel with.

-lrou = to cool by ladling or pouring from one vessel to another.

-lrynn (shaammx) = to sew (clothes).

lyt = roll up (sleeves), to smooth or squeeze water out, as in 'lyt ghonn triw zhuk dhi seee' 'Use hand to squeeze down water-drops from bamboo rod'.

lyt = to gather together as a miser does, as in 'lyt mraay dhi crinnv' 'to hoard money'. Also 'lyt zhaayx' 'a miser, one who takes all the time'.

M

-mang = to pull. See also 'mhanq'.

mhanq = to pull. See also 'mang'.

-mhaw = to squat as in 'mhaw dhay' 'to squat down' rural pronunciation 'bhawdhay'.

mhaydhenqx = to cheat one, to take advantage of one.

-mheahx = to carry child on one's back.

-mhok = to peel off, to take off clothes; as in 'mhok gwahaah zir' 'to shell melon seeds' and 'mhok shaammx' 'to take off clothes'.

-mhuunn = to cover, as in upholstery.

-mio (zeoe) = to make a scornful expression round the mouth. 'Mio mio xraarv' 'pouting the mouth and protruding lower lip'.

-mrae = don't.

N

naae = to tread upon. See also 'jaae'.

naan = to tack, to sew up roughly. See also 'zaai'.

nai = to hide (rural for Metropolitan 'nhih')

nang = to link with, as in 'nang zry'; to be attached to, as in 'nhaahnang' 'intimacy, relationship'.

narn = to knead something soft with fingers, to pull one's leg, as in 'narn faa kreoe' 'to make fun of him, to fool him (in a joke)'.
Handwritten: narn

nhaah = to be with, as in 'ngror nhaah kreoe mrh sheonq mrh shek' 'I don't know him at all'. Also 'on behalf of'.

nhat = to nudge.

nhek } = to bring, to take, to fetch.
 nhenq }

nhoh or = to toady to some one.
 nhoh-narn

nraat = to smooth a substance like clay, paste, etc. with finger or trowel.

nraau = to scold.

nreng = to turn, also used in 'zeoi zao nrengv' 'a sort of doll with heavy round base', also called 'Bhat doo jhunqx', used in drinking bouts to point out the next drinker.

nroh = to rub (as rubbing clothes while washing).

Ng

ngaai = to shout.

ngaaignaawx = to quarrel.

ngaao = to bend, to snap into two. *Handwritten: two*

ngaap = to tuck in, rural pronunciation 'jaap'.

ngaau = to argue with, to contradict some one.

ngaaugriu = to argue with or contradict some one.

ngan = to shake as in 'ngan geok' 'to jiggle the legs'.

ngarm = to cover up with hand. See also 'qarm'.

nghaaw = to scratch.

nghap (ngraarn) = to blink one's eye. See also 'jhap'.

nghat = to thrust in.

ngraa = to stretch arms or legs outward like an angle, to bar another's way. See also 'nghaa chaahx', 'ngraa bee ngraa braang' or 'ngraa xhoy bee braang' means 'sitting with legs opened out and not sitting up respectably with knees close together'.

ngraak = against, as in 'ngraak see' 'against the current'.

ngraao = to bite.

ngrap = to nod as in 'ngrap trawv' 'to nod one's head'.

ngrat = to shift about while sitting.

ngrow = to shake.

P

peak = to chop open.

phaangxhoy = to spread over, to draw out, divide out into instalments.

preak = to throw away.

prear = to reel, to stagger, to waddle, as in 'prear-prear xraarv'. In 'puurn prear', it means 'one doesn't care what happens, one risks anything, not minding one's self-respect, others' opinions, etc.'.

provw = to float (instead of more literary word 'fraw' 'to float').

puurn = to risk, to dare as in 'puurn mreang' 'to risk one's life in trying to achieve something, or in competition'; in 'puurn prear' 'not caring what happens to one's self-respect or what others say'.

Q

qarm = to cover with hand. See also 'ngarm'.

qhow = to reach for something (with difficulty).

S

—saau = to protrude as in 'saau ngraah' 'protruding teeth'.

serng ghongx = to understand (by telepathy or secret sign), to recollect.

shaay = to slate some one, to waste

sraae = (provincial) to lick with blade or tongue.
See also 'laae' 'lirm' and 'lrirm'.

—sraap = to boil.

—sranq } = to give a blow with closed fist, as in
sray } 'sranq kreoe jhat krynn' 'give him a
(hard) blow' 'jhat krynn sray mraay
xeoi' 'one blow on (some one)'.

—sray = to bite as in 'sray kreoe jhat draam' 'to bite him a bite' or 'to bite him'.

T

—tam = to fool or deceive, to placate a child.

—tao = to rest.

—thonq = to slaughter cattle, fowl, etc.

thyt = to slip out or away.

traamm = to heat gently with flame under something,
to smoke something.

trear = to drag one's feet, to go slowly and tiredly.
'Trear-trear xraarv' means 'staggering'.

troh = to button or string on as wearing a pendant
(from 'thoh' 'to trail'?) also 'troh zae'
or 'troh thoy' 'to be pregnant'.

—troh lreoi = to implicate others.

W

waar = to scratch with nails, to claw, as in
'kramm creong waar beak' 'to scale heights
or wall'.

—wheng = to throw afar.

whuuh = to stoop as in 'whuuh dhay trawv' 'to stoop one's head'. See also 'wu'.
 wrekk = to brush and drive away, as flies, to wave about. See also 'frek'.

wu = to stoop. See also 'whuuh'.

X

xaai = causative verb also pronounced 'kaai'.

xae = to be at, in, on.

xam = to fit exactly, to put together; as in 'xam cronq or xram cronq' 'to put up or put together a bed'.

-xarm = to knock against something with one's head.

-xhaah = to bully, to be hard on some one.

-xhap = to nod in dozing as in 'xhap ngraarn fan' 'to doze off'.

-xhaw = to watch, to lie in wait for, to keep an eye on, as in 'xhaw zry trawv' 'to be very jealous of others getting something', also in 'xhaw seee' 'to watch and see if the coast is clear'. See also 'xraw'.

xhawx = to desire (love) some one.

xhiw = verb suffix for past tense.

xraw = to watch closely, out of jealousy, in case another gets a better share, as in 'xraw zry'. See also 'xhaw'. Both 'xhaw' and 'xraw' derived from 'xrau' (候) 'to wait for'?

-xung = to smell around something, to sniff, as in 'xung xung xraarv' 'sniffing in order to get scent'.

Z

zaai (pree) = to tack (quilt). See also 'naan'.

zaap = to tense oneself as in 'zaap ngraang or zaap zry' 'to force oneself to behave conventionally, ceremoniously, stiffly'. Also in 'zaap mraar brou' 'to make a firm stand, a term in Chinese Boxing'.

~~zaarm~~ (ngraarn) = to blink one's eyes.

zaat = to twitch or jump as in sleep; to have a spasm. Also 'zaat zaat triw' means 'jumping and wriggling, uneasy'.

zeak (mraah) = to comb hemp.

zhaawzry } = to arrest some one, to catch as with
zhawzry } claws, connected with 'zaao' 'claw'?

zhapnhap = to close down business.

zhay = to put down.

zhung = to trudge along as in 'zhung zhung xraarv' or 'zhung-dou-xeoi ...' 'to trudge along until a place is reached'. Or 'zhung-jrap-xeoi' 'to enter some place unintentionally'. Also 'to swoop, to dive' as in 'zhung xoe' 'to dive into the sea, to drown oneself'. Also in the saying 'zhung whann ghay' 'to dash headlong like an infected chicken'.

zor = Verb suffix for past tense.

zraa = to bar another's way. See also 'graa'.

zraap = to hinder with foot, to waddle as in 'lreorng brin zraap' 'to sway from side to side' or in 'xraang-dhak zraap zraap xraarv' 'to waddle about'. Also 'to chop' guillotine fashion.

zraau = to sway from side to side; 'zraau trearng' 'to row a boat'.

zryn = to tangle up, to tie round or cling to one, probably from 'zrin' 'to bind' as in 'zrin geok' 'bound foot', the first syllable of which is the variant pronunciation of 'erinn' the literary word for 'to bind'.

zyrn (lrei) = biting to the tongue; it appears to have been developed from the modified form of 'zryn' 'to cling to, to bind round'.

iv. Classifiers In Cantonese if a classifier stands by itself (i.e. without being preceded by a numeral) before a noun, then it is used as a definite article like the English 'the', so 'go jraan' means 'the man'; 'zheonq troyv' means 'the table'; 'zeak mraawx' means 'the cat'.

Classifiers are used after numerals in all Chinese dialects, but there are some peculiar to the Cantonese dialect especially.

jhat baarn shek = a tableau vivant.

jhat bhat fo = a consignment of goods.

- jhat brat nray = a blob of clay or mud.

jhat brat xao seoe = a puddle (drop) of saliva.

jhat brat zheonqwruuh = a blob of paste.

- jhat brung creonq = a wall, see also 'frung'.

- jhat brung ^{brun}creoy = a smell (usually bad).

- jhat daat dreifhong = a place.

- jhat darn fo = a pile of goods.

- jhat ^{da}dau mraawx = a litter of kittens.

jhat dau zeokv = a nest (family) of birds.

jhat deang = a pyramidal pile of (cakes etc. for ceremonies).

- jhat ^{da}dhaw mrowghanx = a towel (rural).

- jhat draap lrawv = a flat.

- jhat ^{gryt}gryt zea = a stick (section) of sugar cane.
See also 'lhuk and zrit'.

- jhat ^{khung}khung fhaahx = a bouquet of flowers.

jhat lreak coi = a row of vegetables.

jhat lhuk zea = a stick (section) of sugar cane.
See also 'gryt and zrit'.

jhat phoh sry = a tree.

jhat shunq = a pair, two by two while counting (rural).

jhat xao cheonqx } = a pistol, a musket, etc.
jhat xarm " }

jhat xarm draai paau } = a cannon.
jhat xramm draai paau }

jhat xarm mrae = a mortarful of rice.

jhat zaat fhaahx = a (tied-up) bunch of flowers.

jhat zhaah (or zraa) fhaahx = a bunch of flowers.

jhat zhaah (or zraa or zhap) trawfaat = a bunch of hair.

jhat zram creoy = a puff of bad smell.

(zran = a gust, a whiff, as in jhat zran fhunq = a gust of wind; but the final -n of 'zran' becomes 'm' by assimilation with the labial 'f', the initial of 'fhunq'; thus 'jhat zram fhunq' and probably 'zram' became generalized for whiff, gust, etc., hence it is also the classifier for 'smell'.)

jhat zrou wroh = a crop of rice.

jhat zyr mruunxao = a family.

v. Interjections and final particles.

Cantonese interjections and final particles are simple articulations often refined to a rather detailed expression of the speaker's emotions. They are capable of showing many shades, through the use of the various tones.

I have taken from the list of Interjections provided by J. Dyer Ball in Cantonese Made Easy, 2nd ed. Hongkong 1888 pp. 111-2 the more commonly used variety and have added two very common ones 'qhayjha' and 'qrayjrah' which he did not give.

/ cheah = Tush! Bosh! Tut!

/ chih = " " "

/ choy = " " " (used by women)

ha = Ah!'

hay = Oh!

haay = Alas!

/ mhat garm a = what! (D.B.) [Why that? - my interpretation]

mrae sheanq = chut!

/ nhe = There now! 113

nrah = There!

/ nrah nrah = Now! Now! 114

Pheah or Pheoh = Tush! (used by women)

qhayjha = Dash! Damn!

qroh = Oh! expression of surprise.

/ xar = What! Yes? I beg your pardon?

xhaayjrah = Oh! What a bother you are!

xhah = Ha! Indeed! Oh!

xhay = Here!

xheah = Tut! (don't be afraid)

xheoh = Pooh!

/ xheoy = Tut!

xhmm or xhnq = Dear me! Fiddlesticks.

/ xor = Indeed! Oh! (rural)

xraay = Alas!

/ waiz = Hullo there!

W11

The following Final Particles are partly taken from Dyer Ball, (loc. cit. pp. 112-5), partly from notes to lessons of the Cantonese Primer by Y.R. Chao (loc. cit.) and partly from common usage as they occur to me.

- a, emphatic, or merely euphonic.
- aak, affirmative.
- boz, very emphatic, often used after the final particle lo, thus 'loboz', seeking agreement from the person spoken to, or giving him advice, (having the force of 'of course' 'I suppose' - Cantonese Primer).
- gaz, emphatic affirmative (from gea + a).
- gea, somewhat similar to the last, or simply euphonic or signifying 'it is that, it is so'.
(from gwa + a - Cantonese Primer) implying doubt or some degree of probability. There is also an expectation of a reply which will resolve the doubt or intensify the probability.
- ha, interrogative, emphatic, or merely euphonic.
- hea, interrogative.
- la, implying certainty or simply euphonic.
- lak, emphatic.
- le, imperative or emphatically affirmative.
- lear, affirmative.
- lha, emphatic, or simply euphonic.
- lhea, affirmative.
- lho, affirmative or emphatic.
- lo, affirmative or emphatic.
- lok, affirmative or emphatic.
- lor, it is so, isn't it (with a 'Don't bother me again' implication).

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- lrea, interrogative, seeking approval.
 lrear, emphatic persuasion.
 ma, interrogative, asking for certainty as to any matter.
 mhe, interrogative or expressing some surprise; Is it so?
 mrar, interrogative and often expecting an affirmative reply.
 xhe, interrogative or emphatically demonstrative.

After giving the final particles as monosyllables, Dyer Ball proceeds (p. 115) to combine some of them with 'xrai' and 'mrh xrai' the equivalents for 'yes' and 'no' in Cantonese, and he remarks 'it must be remembered that it is well nigh impossible to give an exact rendering of the little shades of difference that exist in their use in Chinese; and the same particle used in different connections is capable of giving different meanings'. The following list includes the most common of those given by Dyer Ball.

- xrai a(z) = Yes (indeed it is so).
- xrai gwa = I think yes - I think it is so, is it not?
- xrai ha = Yes ('tis so)
- xrai lhe = Yes (you are right, it is so).
- xrai lhomrar? = It's so, is it not, eh?
- xrai lo(k) = Yes, all right, or yes, that's it, 'tis so.
- xrai logwa = 'tis so, I think.
- xrai lomhe? = Oh, it's so, is it indeed?
- xrai ma? = Yes? (it is indeed so, is it not?).

xrai mhe? = Yes? (Oh! is it so?)

xrai mrar? = Yes? ('tis so, isn't it?)

— xrai-mrh-xrai a? = is it so, or not? or simply - Is it so?

— xrai-mrh-xrai mhe? ^{nr} = There, isn't it so now?

xrai near or xrai nheh = Yes (didn't I say it was so, or I told you so) ^{kk | d - n / m / ym}

xraiv? from (xrai mhe?) = Yes? (indicative of great surprise).

vi. Onomatopoeias.

— bhokbhok ceoi } = very crispy and crunchy.
(lhoklhok ceoi)

— bhokbhok loo (= daar-ghaang loo 'beat watch man') = night-watchman.

— bhok zhaayx = a teacher.

braang jhat sheang = sound of slamming door, etc.

— *brapbrapv tiu or bropbropv tiu (rural) = palpitation of the heart during excitement.

— bhengbhaangx or brenqbraangv xeorng or brenqbrenqbraangbraang = crashing noise.

— craahcraahv or draai craahv = cymbals.

— creat creatv sheang or zreat zreatv sheang = sound of trudging over muddy ground.

dhaatdhaat sheang, draatdraatv sheang, phaatchhaat sheang or praat praatv sheang = noise of falling water, like rain, etc.

— dhidhidhaatdhaat or drihdrihdraatdraat = pattering sound as in the rain.

— faak = to whip; 'faak douv (or doo)' = something falls down or collapses.

* Underlined words in this section are pronounced either in the Low Clipped tone (2: or 22:) or extra Low Clipped tone (1: or 11:).

ghitghit sheanq, khikhikhitkhith, or khithkhith sheanq = sound of laughter, giggling.

jrihjrihv sheanq = sound of objection.

lhoklhok sheanq = sound of small hand drum being twisted back and forth and drummed by two attached beads.

lholho sheanq = talking too much, whining noise.

lhonglhong sheanq = sound of small bell.

lrammlrammv sheanq = rumbling of thunder or car-wheels.

lireornlireornv sheanq = grumbling, to weary one with complaints.

nghangnghang sheanq = the growl of a puppy.

ngheanghea sheanq = sound made by a spoilt child while wheedling, crying, or pretending to cry.

nghitnghit sheanq = creaky noise.

ngrangngrangv sheanq = moaning, groaning in pain, or complaining about having to do something.

ngreahngreahv sheanq = to be slow in action, indecisive.

ngrytngrytv sheanq = the grunting of a pig.

phok = a blister or the popping noise of a blister or bubble bursting.

sraahsraahv sheanq = sound of falling rain, rustling leaves etc.

sraapsraapv sheanq = friction noise of something rough.

srihsrihsraahsraah = scraping or rustling noise.

xrammxrammv sheanq = noise made by a blazing fire.

zraahzraahv sheanq = sound of black thrush or frying.

zraapzraapv sheanq = eating noisily.

zrangzrangv sheanq = jabbering, whispering.

c. Ordinary Chinese words used in Cantonese in a special sense.

Besides peculiar words used in spoken Cantonese there are certain usages of Chinese words which have special meanings when employed in the Cantonese Dialect. The following are some examples:-

i. Nouns

C

cheonn = egg as in 'ghayx cheonn, jryh cheonn, xhaahx cheonn' 'chicken egg, fish egg, shrimp or prawn egg'.
✓ 春 (鹹)

F

✓ fhaah gwuur loo = a travelling singer-musician
花鼓佬 (a husband who prostitutes his wife, according to Parker).

✓ fhaah xrunq = a reward (for lost property, for producing culprits, etc.).
花紅

✓ fhunq shek = weather forecast, 'fhunq shek mrh xoo' 'The weather will bring (or brings) illnesses'.
風色

✓ fhunq shenqx = signs 'fhunq shenqx mrh xoo' 'danger ahead'.
風聲

✓ forgei = shop assistant, waiter, etc.
夥計

G

✓ geokzraap(v) = stocks.
腳開

✓ ghaayx fhonqx = people living in same street or locality.
街坊

✓ gok lhok trawv = corner.
角落頭

✓ gwhay = home as in 'fhaan xeoi gwhay' 'returning home'.
歸

大水 (回) 水

J

- jhinn thunq = chimney.
 煙通
 jraw = to smear, to paint (over vessels, walls, etc.).
 油
 jraw seoe = to swim.
 游水

L

- lree = sail of a boat.
 帆
 lroodrau = father, from 'traw' initial 't' > 'd' as
 老豆 in the Shun Tak subdialect. Also same use
 in 'Sheoy gwae drau' 'you wretch'. Also see Pant (p. 64)
 lroo nray = dirt on body.
 老泥

M

- mraaw lriwv = hut, thatched shed.
 茅寮

Ng

- ngraarn thiw zhammx = sty in eye.
 眼挑針
 ngraw wrongtraw = a ruffian, a gangster.
 牛王頭

S

- shaamm baarn = sampan.
 舢舨 (三板)
 shaannx in mruunn shaannx = bolt of door.
 門 門
 sio mhohx } = pick-pocket.
 sio saoh }
 小 手
 sroh gwahaahx = a fool, stupid person.
 傻瓜

T

- traw lrou = job.
 頭路
 trearng = small boat.
 艇

X

- xoe = sea, river or stream, thus 'sreorng xoe'
 海 means 'going up the river' 'xraa xoe'
 (or 'phiw jreong') means 'going out
 to the ocean'.

xraay ghammx = commission.

鞋金

Z

zir in 'ghay zir' = cockerel's testis whereas the
子 雞 same words mean 'egg' in the National
Language.

ii. Adjectives

B

baak jim = mischievous.

百厭

bhann bhoh = to toil, running back and forth.

奔波

braak fok = conceited, proud. See also 'shaah
白霍 crann'.

C

(daar draai) ceak geok = barefooted.

打大赤脚

(daar draai) ceak lak (or laak) = naked.

打大赤肋

cou brou = rash, too impulsive.

燥暴

D

dhaamm shamm = worried about the welfare and fate
担心 of some one.

F

fai = mad, behaving like an imbecile.

廢

fai sri = too much trouble in doing something,
費事 too bothersome.

G

gaa sai = grand, handsome.

無雙

gaao ghaah = interfering with others, giving
攪家 mischievous advice, to be a disturbing
influence, stirring up trouble.

ghaann laai = cheating at games, not paying one's
奸賴 legitimate debt; see also 'laai mhaau'.

gwae gwaai = said of one with something up one's
鬼怪 sleeves.

gwae mraar = said of suspicious and undesirable
鬼馬 character, or some one full of tricks.

gwae ngrr mraar lruk = said of some one being
鬼五馬六 too clever, full of tricks, or trying to
be funny.

gwae narn = ridiculously small, very small.
鬼揸

gwhat bei = hurting one's artistic feelings. See
骨痺 also 'jruk mraah'. 肉麻

gwhay jhat = tidy.
歸

gwrar = blunt at the point as in 'gwrar mree lrunqv' =
偏 the tailless or blunt tail dragon (a disloyal
person).

gwuur gwaai = queer.
古怪

J

jrao lriuv = having knowledge or learning (a modern
有料 slang).

jrao sham = being kind - the polite answer to an
有心 inquiry.

jrao zaarm deok = having decision, knowing one's
有斬砍 own mind.

jruk garn = getting impatient, too earnest.
肉緊

jruk mraah = hurting one's artistic feelings; see
肉麻 also 'gwhat bei'.

jruk shynn = of bad tastes, unbearably ugly.
肉酸

L

laai mhaau = cheating at games, not paying one's
賴貓 due; see also 'ghaann laai'.

lrei xroi = fierce, intense, said of a person who
利害 is too shrewd or sharp.

lrok lrek = putting in effort, also used as verb.
落力

lroo ghay = acting old or mature beyond one's years,
老雞 precocious, said of a child or youth.

lroo greng = acting old, said of a child or youth.
老勁

M

mraann = unreasonable, often said of children.

mr̄ay mr̄ay chih = in a deep sleep.

mrh-darng-sae } = nonsensical, irrelevant as in
 mrh-teng-sae } 'gorng mraay saai dhi mrh-darng-
 唔聽使 sae gea jrear' 'talking complete
 nonsense, about nothing serious or important.

mr̄oo sao mree = untidy, said of one who never puts
 冇着落 things back where they belong.

mr̄oo zaarm deok = indecisive, not knowing one's own
 冇斬改 mind.

N

nao gaiv = to use cunning or tricks on others.

nao mr̄ann = unreasonable.

Ng

ngraang gearng = stubborn.

S

sai nrei = superstitious.

seoe in xoo seoe gea = not really proficient, not
 水 好 既 really knowledgeable, unreliable.

seoe draai = ebbing (the ebb).

seoe ghonn = water being at the flow.

shaah crann = conceited, proud. See also 'braak fok'.

shammx shynn = sad, moved to tears, a lump in one's
 心酸 throat.

X

xeng = warm, warming up, feverish.

khak shamm = cruel, vicious.

xoo jrann sri(v) } = kind and considerate, easy
 xoo sheong jryr } going, good-natured.

xoo shamm = kind hearted.
 好 心

xou mruunnv = having a vice or hobby.
 好 門

zhayx xhungx = uninhabited, unused as in 'ghaann
 擠 空 qhuk xrai zhayx xhungx gea' 'the house is
 empty or uninhabited'.

zheanq gwaay = usually said of a child or a young
 精 乖 person, good and clever.

zirsai = careful.
 子 細

zrai = sluggish, stupid, feeling indigestion; also
 滯 used as an abusive epithet.

zreng gruk = quiet.
 靜 局

zroi xronq = fashionable, well versed in the business.
 在 行

iii. Verbs

Apart from the main verbs which developed peculiarly
 Cantonese meaning, there are also the Cantonese auxiliary
 verbs or verb suffixes 'garn⁸⁴, xhoy⁸⁴, zry⁸⁴' for the contin-
uous tense.

O

caarn = to writhe as in 'caarn cronq caarn zreak'
 磨 刻 'to writhe in pain on the bed'.

can xheoy = to go to (attend) a village market.
 趁 墟

chamm = to add and mix as in 'chamm dhi seoe lok
 侵 dhi craah sy' 'add water to the tea'.

cheot sai = to be born.
 出 世

cheot shamm = genuine feeling coming from the heart,
 出 心 as 'tae nree cheot shamm zhea' 'according
 to what your heart dictates', 'garm dhou
 cheot dhak shamm geav' 'How could he be so
 cruel'.

creanq jryr = it stops raining.
 晴 雨

cyn trunq = to conspire with some one.
 串 同

D

dan = to shake down in 'dan kreoe dae' 'to let him down'; also 'dan lree' 'the lining slipping down at the bottom and is showing'.

derng gaar = to live beyond one's means in order to put up a show of wealth.

derng sao = to change hand in business.

dhaw = to push up with cooped hands. 'Dhaw fhunq' 'to take a ride in car or boat to get (coop up) some breeze'. 'Dhaw(x) xraar kreoe' 'to coax him a little'. 'drau' another pronunciation of 'dhaw' in 'drau bruui sao' instead of 'dhaw bruui sao' 'coop up to take by back hand' meaning 'to give or take bribe'.

doo pruunn = to close business, to become bankrupt in business.

darm } = to beat, to fall on as in 'jryr drap (or drap) darm) shap shannx' 'the rain wetted (or soaked through) one's body'.

F

faat fhunqx = to suffer from leprosy.

faat mrung = to dream.

fruk seoe too = to find place and climate suitable.

G

gaau = to (weaken with water, to dispense as in 'gaau jreok' 'to dispense medicine'. 'to set a machine' as in 'gaau zhunqx' 'to set the clock right, (fast or slow)' 'gaau nraau zhunqx' 'to set the alarm'.

ghek see (jrann) = to annoy someone very much, to make some one very angry.

ghunq = to tell on some one (usually to one's teacher) 'xaoghunq' 'evidence' 'singhunq' 'witness' 'informer'.

gruk kreoe cheet crlunv = to provoke or tease him to make him pay out the money. See also 'sraap and sraak'.

J

✓ jraov sham } = to be pregnant.
 (jraov xee) }
 有喜

K

✓ kheng graiv = to have a chat.
 傾偈

L

✓ lhaay cear = to make average, to even out, as in
 拉拉 'lhaay cear lay gai' 'counting the average'.

lraksok = to black-mail.
 勒索

✓ lrok = to lower (a net) as in 'lrok mrorng' 'to
 落網 spread fish net for fishing' 'warn go sin-
 lrokv lrok zry (or xee) kreoe' 'to put it
 into a net-work bag'. Also in 'lhok ngraah'
 'to extract a tooth', same character is
 used.

✓ lrok lrek = to put in great efforts, enthusiastic,
 落力 also used as adjective.

M

✓ mraay sao = to begin (doing).
 埋手

✓ mraay traw = a boat arriving at a wharf.
 埋頭

mran searng = to hold a seance meeting.
 問覷

mrio sri jrann = to be scornful to others. cf. 'mio
 藐視人 zeoe' 'to make scornful expression by means
 of mouth'.

N

nhat = to nudge.

✓ nryrn frong = bride and groom eating together the
 暖房 first time.

Ng

ngrok = jaw as in 'sreong ngrok', and 'xraa ngrok'
 顎 'upper and lower jaw' as verb 'to lift
 head', as in 'ngrok ghow go trawv' 'lift
 up the head'.

P

✓ phay = to pare.
 批

pit = to pare away something.

撇
(poo in mroov poo gea or lreyv poo gea = to be very unreasonable, too far from the point, irrelevant.

S

搥
saarng = to give a blow (with closed fist) as in 'saarng kreoe jhat krynn' 'hit him a blow. See also 'zhunq'.

洗
sae show = washing a newborn infant on the 3rd day.

收
shaw fhohx = to make an end of it.

酥
show = to give birth (to a baby).

索
sok xei = to breathe in deeply. 'Sok xei mrh fhaann' 'choked with crying'.

分
sraap kreoe } = to provoke or tease him, to make him
sraak kreoe } do as one wants, to make him pay as one wants. See also 'gruk kreoe'.

射
srea = to dart a glance as in 'jhat ngraarn srea gwo lray' 'darting a glance at one'.

T

捷
taat in taat jraan gea crinnv = to embezzle some one's money, not to pay back money to some one.

透
tau for = to light a fire.

W

違
wran lrou xraanq = to make a detour.

換
wruun gwai = to change (into summer or winter) clothes to suit the season.

X

指
xhaay(x) = to brush or graze, metaphorically 'to annoy' 'chinn krey mrh xoo xhaayx kreoe' 'under no circumstances should you touch him, i.e. provoke him'.

興
xhenq or zixhenq or xoo xhenq = is in the habit of.

呵
xhoh = to coax a child after it has been hurt.

khoy sham = a boat (or train) leaving.

開身

xong = to toast, in 'xongv shaah' 'ship has run aground on sand'.

炕

xraang lreoy = thundering.

行雷

xran = to covet, to have affectionate remembrance of, to yearn for some one.

恨

xroh wrai = presenting gifts to in-laws after wedding feasts.

荷惠

Z

zai = to do as in 'ngror mrh zai' 'I won't (do it)'.

製

zao lrouv = to run away from the law.

走路

zao xei = to lose perfume or odour, stale.

走氣

zea xhoy dhi = gangway please, may I pass, please.

借開的

zeok = to put on (clothes).

着

zhapnhap = to close a business.

執款

zheong zrau = to act amiably, to let another off,

將就

to let another have his way, not severe.

zheong co zrau co = to close half an eye, let the

將錯就錯

wrong deed be done or accepted as done since there is no help.

zhong = to put into as in 'zhong fraan' 'to ladle

裝

rice into a bowl'. Also 'to peep' 睇

zhung = to give a blow with closed fist.

搥心

zri = to bully an inferior, to deal with a minor

治

harshly.

zrong baarn = to get into trouble, to put one's

撞板

foot in it.

zyr for = to tell on some one.

着

iv. Adverbs

D

dhak zrai = too (much) as in 'gwruui dhak zrai'

得滯

'too tired'.

G

ghaah(x) xraar = now

gor zran srih(v) = at the time.

個陣時

J

jhat xei = continuously (lit. in one breath).

一氣

K

kraw shinnx = just now, not long ago. See also

求先

'traw shinnx, zeng wraa, zrau shinnx, zrau zeng, zrau zi'.

L

lrau jrea = overnight.

漏夜

M

mrh = not.

唔

S

shinn zi = (only) then. See also 'zi'.

先至

T

thimm = (also, too, put at the end of clause or sentence.

添

traw shinnx = just now, not long ago. Also see

頭先

'kraw shinnx, zeng wraa, zrau shinnx, zrau zeng, zrau zi'.

W

whann = repeatedly, all the time as in 'kreoe

晝

whann gam gorng' 'He talked and talked'.

X

xoo ghaaw gwhaann } = very much, intensely.

xoo gwhaann kraai }

好關係

Z

zeng wraa = just now, not long ago. See also 'zrau shinnx, zrau zeng, zrau zi'.

正話

zhaangdhi = almost, nearly.

爭啲

zi = only then. See also 'shinnzi'.

zi dhak = then all right, (speaker's wish or opinion expressed thus, after the predicate).

zrau lray = about to, soon.

zrau shinnx } = just now, not long ago. See also
zrau zeng } 'zeng wraa'.
zrau zi }

zrek crenq } = completely, absolutely.
zrek traw }

zreng ghay ghay = quietly, stealthily.

zreng xrai = only, always.

d. Archaic Words.

Preservation of old words.

caarn 剗 = to uproot, to exterminate; as in xramghaah
caarn = may your whole family perish. See
Leushyh Chuenchiou, (SBTK J. 15, p. 7a) 呂氏春秋
權勳篇必剗若類

dhah 敦 = to be stuck to a spot; as in mhaw dhan = to
be stuck at home as an unemployed. See
Shyuetzyh Chi Joong (學字七種 by Li Mhiyuan 李祕園 (Shohai Sesho
昌平叢書, 下, p. 73) 塾敦 ; meaning 獨處不移貌 ;
Shyjing* (No. 156) 詩經 : 敦彼獨宿

dhat 脂 = very fat; as in frey dhatdhat = very fat. See
Moltzyy (SBTK J. 3, p. 8a, l. 5) Mehtzyy 墨子 明鬼下 胡胡脂肥

jrynn 緣 = to climb, to scale upwards; as in jrynn zry
triw cryr = to climb up a pillar. See
Mencius Book I Pt. I 緣木求魚 (Legge, 2nd ed. Vol II, 1895, p. 145)

khok 𪔐 = to knock or strike the head. See Leu shyh
chuenchiou (SBTK J. 11, p. 8a, l. 7, note) 呂氏春秋 當務篇
高注音確擊頭也

krenq 澆 = to dry by letting water drip through a
sieve. See Luenyeu Book Mencius Pt. (Legge, 論語 p. 485)
夫子接淅而行; Shuowen 說文 has
淅 = 澆

kreoe 佻 = he, she; another form of kreoy 渠, the
ancient third personal pronoun in low falling
tone, but 'kreoe' is in the low rising tone.

lhunqx = hole. See Luh Der-ming's 陸德明 preface
to his Jing-dean Shyh-wen 經典釋文 龍, 力孔反

lrok 落 used in Cantonese to mean 'to descend' (下 in
the National Language today).

mrin 面 still used in Cantonese to mean 'face', whereas
in other dialects its meaning is 'surface'
rather than 'the face'. (臉 in the National
Language today).

nhek = to take, to hold, to carry. See Liu Shye's 劉總
Wenshin Diaulong (SBTK J. 6, p. 16) 文心雕龍
方其擲翰

phuuyx 榧 = shape, as in 'mrin phuuyx' 'shape of the face. See Mencius Bk VI Pt. I 義猶榧也 (Legge, 2nd ed. Vol. II, 1895, p. 394)

qau or ngau* 漚 = to steep, to soak, to ferment. See Shyjing (No. 139) 詩經 可以漚麻

shann* 娠 = pregnant, as in 'kreoe jraozor shann', 'kreoe jrao shanngée' meaning 'she is pregnant'. In colloquial speech we cannot decide whether 'shann' represents the character above or 身 'body'. See Shyjing 詩經 NR. 236 大任有身; also Tzuoojunn 左傳, Ai Gong, 18th year (Legge, Chinese Classics Vol. 5, Pt. II, p. 792) 左傳方娠

shih 斯 or 撕 = to tear. See Shyjing (No. 141) 詩經 斧以斯之 Shuowen 說文 has 斯 = 析

srek 食 = to eat (whereas it is 吃 in the National Language).

tae 睇 = to look, to gaze. According to Yang Shyong's 楊雄 Fangyan 方言, 睇 was in current use in a large part of the Middle Kingdom in Hann 漢 times. See Liljih 禮記 禮記 射義 睇視 (Legge, Chinese Classics Vol. I, p. 628) 睇視

xraamm 咸 = all. xrambralraang = all, altogether, entirely. See Shyjing 書經 罔攸攸于 (Legge, Chinese Classics Vol. II, p. 23-4) 庶績咸熙 *

Lastly a very old compound of non-Chinese origin has come down to recent times in Cantonese, namely 'lraann ghonnx fhaahbhinnx' 'fine linen lace' still in current use among hawkers in their street cries thirty years ago while selling haberdashery. There is also a nursery rhyme about the hawking of such articles by a hawker who carried a case on one shoulder and twirled a little hand drum as he walked along as an announcement of sale for his ware.

Lhoklhok gwuur (the drum that sounds lhoklhok)
Mraai jrunqsin (selling haberdashery)
Gwaezir lraannghonnx gaongraah brin (foreign [devils']
fine linen cloth scalloped [dogtoothed] lace)

* Taken from an unpublished article 'Dipping into the Nine-eyed Well' by S.L. Wong.

It is recorded in the History of Later Hann SBTk 後漢書
列傳 J.76 p. 25b 1. 4 that 蘭干細布 is a fine
cloth woven by women in the Ailao 哀牢 country and the
commentary quotes Hwayanggwo Jyh 華陽國志 as saying that
the Lao 徭 term for 紵 'linen' is 蘭干 .

2. Structural Features. -

General Remarks

Even when we compare very simple sentences in the National Language and the Cantonese dialect, we often find that the difference lies not merely in the word order and the idiomatic use of words and phrases (which I shall deal with in two separate sections after this paragraph) but in the whole construction as the few examples below will show.

a. The use of baa 把 (its counterpart in Cantonese is either zheong 將 or kaai 喊) and geei 給 (its counterpart in Cantonese is 'bee' 俾) is usually preferred in the National Language but usually avoided in Cantonese.

<u>National Language</u>	<u>Cantonese</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
i. Ta baa tade shu fanq tzay juotz shanq 他把 他的書放在桌子上 lit: He takes his book put on table top.	Kreoe zhay kreoe brou shyh xae troyv-sy 佢擠佢 部書喺枱處 lit: He puts his book on table place.	He puts his book on the table.
ii. Woo geei ta daar diann- huah 我給他打電話 lit: I give him strike telephone. (This order is preferred although it is possible to turn it round as follows: Woo daar diannhuah geei ta)	Ngror daar drin- wraav (bee) kreoe. 我打電話(俾)佢 (It is impossible to change the verb round to the position after the object 'kreoe')	I telephone him.

(Thus the more direct construction is preferred in Cantonese.)

b. Different ways of expressing the same ideas through the use of different verbs, connective, particles, etc.

<u>National Language</u>	<u>Cantonese</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
i. Nii shian chiuh ba! Woo chy-wan fann tsair hwei- chiuh na. 你先去吧! 我吃完飯 才回去哪 lit: You first go! I eat- finish meal only (just) return.	Nree (fhaann) xeo! shinn lha! Ngror srekjrynn fraan zi (or shinn zi) fhaannxeoi. 你(翻)去 先啦! 我食完飯至(洗)翻去 lit: You go (or return) first! I eat finish meal reach (first reach) return.	You go (back) first! I shall have a meal before returning.

(Besides the difference in word-order in the first clause between Cantonese and the National Language, there are words like 吃 and 食 for 'to eat' 才 and 至 or 先至 for 'before', 回 and 翻 for 'to return'.)

<u>National Language</u>	<u>Cantonese</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
ii. Ta daw shyueshiaw chiuh 他到學校去 lit: He reach (i.e. to) school go. (Here 'daw' is a pre-verb, and 'chiuh' the main verb is put last)	Kreoe xeo! xroxxraau sy 他去 學校處 lit: He goes school. (Here the verb 'xeoi' precedes 'school' and it includes in itself the prepositional or pre-verb 'to')	He goes to school.
iii. Tzuoh-shia 坐下 lit: sit down. (This complement 'shia' is a verb 'to go down')	Cror-dhay 坐低 lit: sit low (This complement 'dhay' is an adjective, 'low')	sit down
iv. Woomen shian chy fann tzay hwei jia ba. 我們 先吃飯再回家吧! lit: We first eat meal again return home let us!	Ngrordrei srek zo! fraan shinn zi fhaann qhukkee bravlha! 我哋食咗飯 先至翻屋企吧! lit: We eat meal first reach return home let us.	Let us have a meal before going home.

(Besides the position of 先 being different and words like 'to eat', 'to return', 'home' being different the use of 再 for 'before' in this sentence and of 才 in b i.

in the National Language seems to be a finer distinction of the meaning of the connective 'before' than in Cantonese which has 至 (or 先至) in both cases.)

<u>National Language</u>	<u>Cantonese</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
v. — Woo jydaw 我知道 lit: I know-tell. (The verb 'to know' is a compound)	Ngror zhih(dou) 我知(到) lit: I know-(reach). (The verb 'to know' could be either a monosyllable or a compound.)	I know
vi. — Woo hair yaw yishie 我還要一些 lit: I still want a little.	Ngror zrung jiu dhohdhi thimm. 我還要多的添 lit: I still want more also.	I still want more.
vii. — Shian bwu yaw tzouu 先不要走 lit: first not want run.	Mrae (or mrhxoo) cear zri. 唔好咁自 lit: Don't leave yet.	Don't go yet.

Again when we compare the use of various parts of speech in the National Language and in Cantonese we find different usages for a certain part of speech and a more or less limited use for another. In Cantonese a classifier can be used before a noun without being preceded by a

numeral, and the classifier then is equivalent to the definite article 'the' in English (See III B 1, b, iv.) whereas such a usage is not found in the National Language.

The pronoun 'ta' 佢 'he, she, it' is more freely used in the National Language than 'kreoe' (the Cantonese counterpart of 'ta') in Cantonese. 'Ta' can stand for animate as well as inanimate things, in the Nominative as well as Objective Case, whereas 'kreoe' is seldom used for inanimate things in the Nominative and never in the Objective Case. As a matter of fact, it is either omitted or has its place taken by the original noun. For example, if we wish to say 'The table is too expensive. Don't buy it', we render it in Cantonese thus: zheonq troyv taai gwai: mrhxoo mraae, lit: The table too dear, don't buy!

The National Language genitive particle -de 的 is rendered as 'gea' 嘅 in Cantonese, but this 'gea' can also be replaced by the appropriate classifier of the noun that follows, for instance; kreoe gea gao or kreoe zeak gao, ngror gea troyv or ngror zheonq troyv, etc., whereas the only possible forms (singular) of these phrases in the National Language are 'tade goou, woode juotz, etc.'.

Another noticeable difference in the use of common words between the National Language and Cantonese is that of the pronouns 'this' and 'that', namely 'nhidhi' and 'gordhi' in Cantonese, as 'nhi' 呢 'this' and 'gor' 個 'that',

the Cantonese Demonstrative Adjectives, cannot function as pronouns as well; and so 'dhi' the quantitative particle has to be added as opposed to the double function of jeh

JP *Y* *11* in the National Language, namely as a Demonstrative Pronoun or a Demonstrative Adjective. Thus one can hold up a pencil and ask the question in the National Language

'Jeh sh sherme?' 'What is this?' without using the word 'jy'

枝 which is the appropriate classifier for 'pencil'. But in Cantonese the question has to be 'nhi dhi xrai mhi jrear?'

'What (quantity) is this?' or 'nhi grin xrai mhi jrear?'

'What (thing) is this?' employing either 'dhi' 'quantity' or 'grin' 'piece' after 'nhi' 'this'. If one does not wish to employ either of these, then one has to choose the

appropriate classifier 枝 zhih for pencil, pen etc.; thus,

'Nhi zhih xrai mhi jrear?' which sounds a rather futile question, as the questioner must have known what the object is beforehand. Other than in the kindergarten or in a language class, such a question is not likely. This shows,

however, that the demonstrative 'nhi' 呢 in Cantonese is more confined in its scope than the National Language jeh 這. On the other hand some parts of speech are

employed to strange uses in Cantonese which cannot be done in the National Language.

The adverb 'garm' 'thus' and the verb suffix 'garn' for denoting the continuous tense are sometimes put to peculiar uses in Cantonese quite unheard of in the National Language or in other Chinese dialects.

Although the general suffix for past tense is 'zor' and the rural one is 'xhiw', we find 'garm' 'thus' also used in that sense.

'Ngror mrh gin garm go bhiwx'
'I lost my watch'

'Kreoe lraai garm dhi jrear xae ngror sy'
'He left behind something in my place'

'Kreoe nheng garm ngror jhat brou shyh xeoiv'
'He took away one of my books'

Although 'garn' is generally used as a suffix for the continuous tense and it usually follows immediately its main verb, it can however shift itself to the position after 'prepositions' such as 'xae' 'at, in, on' and 'trunq' 'with'.

'Kreoe xae garn gor sy zrou ghunqfhuuh' and 'Kreoe xae gor sy zrou garn ghunqfhuuh' mean exactly the same thing 'He is doing some work there'. 'Kreoe trunq garn jhat go ngroigwok-jrann gorng jrear' and 'Kreoe trunq jhat go ngroigwok-jrann gorng garn jrear' mean the same thing, 'He is talking with a foreigner'. The Cantonese 'prepositions' 'xae' and 'trunq' include the verb 'to be' within themselves and so the suffix for the continuous tense does not seem too out of place when it is attached to them. In other words the Chinese prepositions for 'on, in, at' and 'with' are not mere prepositions but are really verbs.

a. Word order.

As I have mentioned above (III B 1 a) word order in Cantonese compounds sometimes varies from the qualifier-before-noun rule, as in

jryh shaanq (lit: fish raw) for raw fish

lraizhihx ghonnx (lit: Laichi dry) for dried Laichi

praay birn (lit: board flat) for flat board, a plaque
of compliments.

There is a number of compounds (nouns, adjectives, verbs, etc.) which are in the reverse order as compared with their counterparts in the National Language.

National Language

✓ jeengchyi 整齊

jeangyeau 講演
(sometimes 演講)

kehren 客人

yawjiin 要緊
(緊要 only in
literary style)

Cantonese

crayzerng 齊整

jirngorng 演講

jrannxaak 人客

garngiu 緊要

Also in sentences and phrases the word order in Cantonese sometimes differs from that in the National Language.

National Language

Duo kann jii been shu
多 看 幾 本 書

Nii shian chiuh 你先去

Ta geei woo chyan
他 給 我 錢 (the indirect
object placed before
the direct)

Cantonese

Tae dhoh gee brou
shyh. 睇 多 幾 部 書

Nree xeo1 shinn
你 去 先 1

Kreee bee crinnv
ngror² 佢 俾 錢 我
(the direct object
placed before the
indirect)

Meaning

Read (a few)
more books.

He gives me
money.

1. In Jou Chiuh fei's 周吉非 Liingway Daydar 嶺外代答 3118 p. 43 recording the 粵語 of Goangshi, he gives the following: 令人先行曰行前, similar to the word order of 去先, 行先 in present day Cantonese.
2. Alternative construction is 'Kreee bee crinnv bee ngror' or 'kreee bee crinnv gwo ngror', but these 'prepositions' are as a rule omitted.

<u>National Language</u>	<u>Cantonese</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
Woo sheau-kann ta 我小看他	Ngror tae-sio kreoe 我睇小佢	I treat him indifferently, or I look down on him.
Woomen tzay Beeipyng daa yeeway. 我們在北 平打野外	Ngror drei zaap jrenq xae Bhakprenq (sy) ¹ 我哋紮營係北 平(處) cf. literary con- struction 單手燕 = pitched camp in Peiping.	We pitch camp in Peiping.

b. Idiomatic use of certain words and phrases in Cantonese.

Although it is a common feature of all Chinese dialects to use generalized verbs like 'to do', 'to strike', 'to come', 'to reach', etc. for a variety of purposes, the Cantonese dialect seems to abound in special usages of such words, often showing the background and psychology of the speakers of this dialect. Such a semantic study is beyond the scope of this thesis, but in passing I would like to mention that the various usages made of the word 'spirit'

鬼 is, for instance, an indication of the belief or superstition prevalent among these speakers. The following words, phrases and sayings given in alphabetical order are meant to show the various usages made of common words in various grammatical functions, positions and contexts. It

1. Alternative construction is 'Ngror drei xae Bhakprenq(sy) zaap jrenq' thus the 'locality' or adverb of place can be put either before or after 'pitch camp' in Cantonese, whereas it must be put in front of the verb in the National Language. It seems, therefore, that the Cantonese 'order' is halfway between the National Language word order and that of the literary construction.

goes without saying that the more common usages are omitted because they can be found in ordinary dictionaries.

i. Words.

/chann (phonetically represented by 親 in Cantonese dictionaries) as suffix, expressing undersirable contact, hurt, etc.

Kreoe bee jrann daar chann 佢俾人打 | 1 = He has been hit (hurt) by someone.

Kreoe xaakchann ngror 佢嚇 | 我 = He frightened me.

Bee cheahx zrong-chann 俾車撞 | } = Hit by a car.
Bee cheahx cheahchann 俾車車 | }

Nree ghekchann kreoe 你激 | 佢 = You made him angry, or you have hurt his feelings.

/chann as postverbal word indicating the sense of 'when-ever, every time when'

/Kreoe lraychann zrau xaam gea 佢嚟 | 就喊嘅 = He cries whenever he comes.

Ngror zrouchann-jrear zrau daar lraan jrear 我做 | 野就打爛野 = Whenever I do (any) thing, I break things.

/Mranchann kreoe kreoe zrau nhaw 問 | 佢佢就𨳊 = He gets angry whenever I ask him (the question).

/daar 打 = 'to hit, to strike'.

/daar-bhinnlrow | 邊爐 = to eat round a brazier in winter on which is cooked the soup with meat, fish, vegetables, etc.

/daar-dhaannx | 單 = to blackmail.

/daar-draai-ceak-geok | 大赤腳 = to bare or expose one's feet.

1. The vertical stroke | is written in the place of the character in question (in this case 親) whereas a horizontal stroke — is written for a 'characterless' Cantonese word, or at least words without standardized character representation.

- / daar-draai-ceak-laak | 大赤肋 = to bare or expose one's sides or chest.
- / daar-fudrtraw | 斧頭 = to make something on the quiet while buying for one's employer.
- / daar-ghaawx | 交 = to fight (another person).
- / daar-ghunqx | 工 = to be employed.
- / daar ghunqfhuuhx | 工夫 = to do Chinese boxing.
- / daar gwuur | 估謎 = to play at guessing riddles.
- / daar-lree | 理 = to manage, to look after.
- / daar-ngraahgaau | 牙較 = to argue, to have a chat.
- / daar-sear | 瀉 = to spill.
- / daar-xraptrunq | 合同 = to make a contract.
- / daar-xrohbbhaawx | 荷包 = to pick one's pocket, to cost one money.
- / daarzae | 仔 = a gangster, a racketeer.
- / drang 戲 = to feel in the place of another, to suffer vicarious pains, anger or sorrow.
- / Ngror drang kreoe baingai 我 | 佢 悶 弱 = I worry on his account. I sympathize with him.
- / Ngror drang kreoe mrhdae 我 | 佢 唔 抵 = I feel angry (at the injustice) on his account.
- / dae 抵 = to be worth it, worth the money.
- / Dae! Dae nree gea! | ! | 你 嘅! = It serves you right.
- / Dae kreoe see | 佢 死 = It serves him right (lit: He deserves the death).
- / Dae srek ma? | 食 嘅? = Is the food worth its price? (is the food good enough, considering the price?).
- / Kreoe zhann xrai dae see gea 佢 真 係 | 死 嘅 = he really deserves to die (= He is really an awful person).
- / Nhi deoi xraay dae mrh dae a? 呢 對 鞋 | 唔 | 呀? = Is this pair of shoes worth the money? (is its price reasonable?).

✓ Nree dae dhak zry ma? 你 | 得住嗎? = Can you bear it?

✓ Ngror gokdhak mrh dae 我覺得唔 | = I feel some injustice or grudge (in that matter).

✓ dhak 得 = 'to get, to acquire, to be able, etc.' It has such a variety of usages that it is difficult to bring out the finer shades of its meaning when in combination with other verbs such as,

'dhak douv' 'to have received or acquired'; 'gei dhak' 'to remember'; 'shek dhak' 'to know' 'to recognize'; 'srek dhak-gea' 'edible'.

I note the following idiomatic usages:-

dhak-faatv lak 法 | 勒 = right, correct, as in 'Garm zrau dhak-faatv lak' 'Then it is all right, it is the right way or method, it will be successful'.

✓ gwo-dhak-xeoi 過 | 去 = passable, as in 'Gwodhak xeoi zrau braav lok' 'as long as it is passable, one should let things pass'.

✓ kaau-dhak-zry 靠 | 住 = reliable.

✓ seon-dhak-gwo 信 | 過 = trustworthy.

✓ seorng-dhak-cheot 想 | 出 = being able to think something out or to recall something.

✓ seorng-dhak-dou 想 | 到 = thinking out in detail beforehand.

✓ shaang-dhak leang 生 | 靚 = to be (born) beautiful.

✓ zrou-dhak-cheot 做 | 出 } = (to do things (to such an unkind extent) as in
✓ zrou-dhak-dou 做 | 到 } 'kreoe xoo zrou-dhak-cheot (or -dou) gea' 'he could reach an uncommon stage of unfriendliness, rudeness, etc., that you can never tell what he will do'.

✓ xoo+verb+ dhak constructions.

✓ kreoe xoo lraydhak gea 佢好 | 㗎 | 既 = he can do something very well.

✓ kreoe xoo srekdhak 佢好 | 食 | = he can eat a lot.

✓ kreoe xoo xraanqdhak 佢好 | 行 | = he can walk a lot.

Adjective + dhak-zrai as in 'dhoh dhak-zrai 多 | 滯 =
too much or too many. frey dhak zrai 肥 | 滯
= too fat.

Negative statements.

mrh dhak 唔 | = no, you can't; No, it is impossible.

mrh dhak drim 唔 | 搵 = insolvent, to be in great trouble.

mrh dhak xraann 唔 | 閒 = having no time, being too busy.

Interrogative constructions.

Kreoe xraangdhak-mrh-xraang-dhak? 信 | 唔 | 行 | ? =
Can he walk? 唔 | 行 | ?

Kreoe zrunq srek-mrh-srek-dhaklrok? 佢 | 重 | 食 | 唔 | 食 | 落 | ? = Can he eat still more?

Nhidhi jrear srek-dhak-mrh-srek-dhak gea? 呢 | 嘅 | 野 |
食 | 唔 | 食 | 嘅 | ? = Is this edible?

Sear-dhak-mrh-seardhak? 捨 | 唔 | 捨 | ? = Can you bear
to part with it?

Triw lrou xraang-dhak mrh xraang-dhak? 條 | 路 |
行 | 唔 | 行 | ? = Is the road passable?

Zroudhak-mrh-zroudhak? 做 | 唔 | 做 | ? = Is it all right?

dou 到 = to reach, to arrive.

This tone, middle, level, is kept when 'dou' is used after verbs in its original meaning of 'to reach'. Thus it is almost equivalent to the English preposition 'to' or the phrase 'to the extent of' in the following examples:-

Ghekpdou ngror-v! 激 | 我 | = It made me so angry!
(even to death)!

Mran-dou ngror zrau ngror jhat-dreng jiu daap kreoe 問 | 我 | 就 | 我 | 一定 | 要 | 答 | 佢 | = Since he
questioned me (ask reach me) I must answer him
(compare: Nree zhann xrai mran douv ngror lak!
你 | 真 | 係 | 問 | 倒 | 我 | 嘅 | You have
asked the wrong person: I don't know any-
thing about it!

Wrai jrann wrai-dou dae 為人為一底 = In helping people one must go on to the end.

Xaak-dou ngror mrhzhixh dirm zrou xoo
嚇 | 我唔知點好 = I was so frightened that I did not know what to do.

douv 到(倒)(taken for 'doo' by most people), a post-verbal suffix.

'Dou' 到 is often used as a post-verbal suffix to denote accomplishment or achievement of action. 'Douv' or 'Doo' is merely a popular way of representing this suffix in its perfect form, i.e. '-douzor' became '-douv' owing to compensatory modification (See V p. 225). Cantonese readers dissociate the original meaning of 'doo' 倒 'upside down, to tip upside down, to pour', entirely from a compound like 'gindouv' when they are reading it; for it is represented as 見倒 in Chinese characters, literally 'to see' and 'upside down' whereas the compound itself means 'to have seen'.

Such verb + douv compounds are numerous and the following are a few of them:-

dhakdouv 得 | = to have got or received.

lraawdouv 撈 | = to have caught (from under water), to have dredged up.

mrannndouv 聞 | = to have smelled.

mrornngdouv 網 | = to have caught by a net.

taedouv 睇 | = to have seen.

theanq douv 聽 | = to have heard.

warndouv 搵 | = to have found or discovered.

zhapdouv 執 | = to have picked up, to have found (unexpectedly).

zhukdouv 捉 | = to have caught (by hand).

zipdouv 接 | = to have received (by post, etc.).

'Douv' also follows intransitive verbs to denote a state reached as well as completion of action. In the following construction 'douv' is almost like 'chann' which denotes undesirable contact or hurt, only it is not so strong as 'chann'.

Kreoe ditdouv 佢跌 | = he fell down.

Kreoe teakdouv zeak troyv-geok 佢踢 | 隻抬脚 =
he kicked the table-leg.

Kreoe xarmdouv go traw 佢掀 | 個頭 = he knocked
his head against something.

'Douv' can be used to denote a position or posture in the place of 'xae'.

cror-douv-sy 坐 | 處 = sitting down.

fan-douv-sy 躺 | 處 = lying down.

gwrai-douv-sy 跪 | 處 = kneeling down.

kree-douv-sy 企 | 處 = standing there.

dyn 斷 | = to decide.

dyn ghann ceng | 斤秤 = weighed by the catty.

dyn zeak mraae | 隻買 = bought by the piece, or
one by one.

mroo zaarm-dyn 有斬 | } = indecisive, without
(or mroo zaarm-deok) } moral courage.

faat 發 = to grow, to start.

In Cantonese 'faat' is used in a generalized way, meaning 'to get, to become'. It is used in this way more than in the National Language.

- /faat ceon | 一 = to be silly, or slightly mad.
 /faat croy | 財 = to get or win money.
 /faat dhinn | 癲 = to become mad.
 /faat draat | 達 = to become successful in life.
 /faat fhuk | 福 = to become fatter.
 /faat fhunqx | 瘋 = to have leprosy.
 /faat for | 火 = to become angry.
 /faat frarn | 奮 = to buck up, to put in great effort.
 /faat ghaymraanq | 雞盲 = not seeing owing to absent-mindedness.
 /faat jrimm | 炎 = to become inflamed.
 /faat mhow | 一(毛?) = to get mouldy.
 /faat mrung | 夢 = to dream.
 /faat murng | 懵 = to be silly, or stupid.
 /faat shiw | 燒 = to have a temperature.
 /faat sranngheq | 神經 = to become mad.
 gwae (鬼) = ghost, spirit.

It is tagged on to a number of parts of speech as expletive, adjective or complement or used as a noun for any person in an unfortunate or unknown predicament.

As a noun (slightly abusive)

- /Fhaann-gwae-loo | 番 | 佬 = foreigner (European, whites)
 /Gaugor-gwae | 救火 | = a fireman (member of the Fire Brigade).
 /Krunq-gwae | 窮 | = a pauper.
 /ngro-gwae | 餓 | = a hungry person.
 /seoesao-gwae | 水手 | = a foreign sailor.
 /sheoy-gwae-(drau) | 衰鬼(豆) = a term of abuse.

xrungmrow-gwae 紅毛 | = Englishmen (red-headed spirit).

Gwae coe nree mhe! | 睇你咩! = I am not on speaking terms with you; who is talking to you!

Gwae zerng nree mhe? | 整你咩? = What is the matter with you? (lit: Have you been entered by a spirit?).

Gwae zhaah gam crow | 搵咁嘈 = very noisy, shouting.

zerng-gwae-zrou-gwaai | 整 | 做怪 = trying to be funny.

As an adjective.

Gwae-mrow-gwae-jreongv | 模 | 樣 = ugly grimaces, dressed stupidly or in an unbecoming fashion.

Gwae-mraar or | 馬 } = trying to be funny;
Gwae-ngrr-mraar-lruk | 五馬六 } acting strangely with the intention of tricking one.

As a complement

Deoe-gwae kreoe | 搗 | 佢 = to tell on him, to expose his secrets or wrong doings to his superior.

Mrae gam gwae-narn | 咪咁 | 撚 = Don't give (or make etc.) something so ridiculously small or mean.

Zerng-gwae kreoe | 整 | 佢 = to fool him.

As an expletive.

Daar-gwae-lree kreoe | 打 | 理佢 = I wouldn't (won't) bother about him.

Dirm-gwae-zhih kreoe a! | 點 | 知佢呀! = How do I know about him!

Gorgo xrai mhat-gwae shinn shaang wraav? | 個個係乜 | 先生話? = what did you say his surname was?

Mrae lree-gwae kreoe | 咪理 | 佢 = Don't bother about him; leave him alone.

Ngror mrh-gwae-coe kreoe | 我唔 | 睇佢 = I am not speaking with him.

Zrou mhat-gwae-jrear? 做乜嘢
matter?

= What is the

gwo 過 = to pass.

It is used in its original meaning chiefly, as in
'gwo faai-lok gea shanqwruut' 'to lead a happy life, to
enjoy life'; 'gwo jrat zir' 'to pass time, to live, to make
something as one's livelihood' 'gwo nrinn' 'to pass or
celebrate the New Year Festival'; as complement to a verb
'Ngror xraanq-gwo-xeoi gor brin' 'I walk over to the other
side',

and as the equivalent of the English preposition 'than'

Ngror ghow gwo nree 我高比你 = I am taller than you;
as verb suffix indicating 'having been'

Ngror gin-gwo kreoe xoo dhoh ci lok 我見佢好多次咯 = I have already seen him many times.

It is sometimes used as a kind of preposition:-

fan-gwov-lrunq 瞓 | 朥 = sleep past muzziness
i.e. overslept.

ghow-gwov-traw 高 | 頭 = tall past head i.e. too
tall.

ngro-gwov-ghay 餓 | 餓 = hungry past hungry i.e.
past the hunger stage.

There are many idiomatic usages of this verb:-

gwov-shann 身 = to have died.

(xoo) gwo-jrarn (好) | 穩 = (very) enjoyable.

gwo-dhak-xeoi 得去 = tolerable.

gwo-srek 食 = (food is) worth the money.

gwo-tae 睇 = worth seeing.

gwo-zai mrar? 製嗎? = Is it worth doing? (Slang)

mraae-dhak-gwo 買得 | = It's worth the money:
one should buy it.

seon-dhak-gwo 值得 | = some one or something is
trustworthy.

srek-dhak-gwo 食得 | = The food is worth the
money.

zrou dhak gwo 做得 | = The job is a good one,
worth doing.

But xraanq-dhak-gwo 行得 | merely means 'able to go
or pass through.

jrear 野(野) = thing.

mhijrear 乜 | = what?

xoo-jrear 好 | = really good, very good.

draai-jrear 大 | = to be self-important, to
draai-zhih-jrear 大枝 | 大枝 act big.

mrh-xrai-jrear 唔係 | 唔係 = not dignified, behaving
without self-respect, to be unreliable or
irresponsible.

kaai 𢦏 is a causative verb similar to 'zheonq'

Bhat xrai kaai lray sear zri gea 筆係 | 𢦏寫字 𢦏 =
Pen is 'used) for writing characters,

where 'kaai' brings out the usage of an object, which is
put in front as a subject, and so there is no object to
come between 'kaai' and 'lray', since there is no impersonal
pronoun like 'it', for instance, in Cantonese to fill in
the place of the object.

Kreoe kaai (or zheonq) ngror triw mrin-ghanx lray
maat dreixraav 佢 | 我條面巾 𢦏
抹地下 = he uses my face-flannel to
wipe the floor,

signifying a wrong use the object is put to. In this
sentence a personal pronoun is the subject and 'my face-
flannel' is the object, taking its place between 'kaai'
and 'lray'.

Nree kaai (or zheong) ngror lray zrou mroshammx
 你 | 我 嚟 做 磨心 = You are making a
 (buffer (or scape-goat) of me; also
 signifying a wrong use as in the previous
 sentence.

Lraan and lraanv 火爛

'lraan' itself means 'to break, to rot, rotten, putrid,
 etc.' For comparison it is to be noted that the idiomatic
 use of this word in the Tai Dialect of Longjou 龍州 is
 a close parallel to that in Cantonese (See III B 1 a.1.).

| lraan daat-daat | 攞 2 = said of a person being
 (sticky or one who persistently leans on one
 for support and refuses to go away, or one
 absolutely irresponsible.

| lraan sruk | 熟 = overcooked until disintegrated.

sruk-dou lraan 熟到 | = knowing some one very
 well, or too well; knowing some text very
 well.

When this word is modified it has an undesirable meaning:-

| lraanv dhakji garm | 得意 嘅 = being impertinent
 or cheeky.

| lraanv draai-jrear garm | 大野 嘅 } = being puffed
 lraanv serng | 省 (or 慳) } up, conceited,
 lraanv xoo-jrear garm | 好野 嘅 } when one has
 no reason to
 be so.

| lraanv xoo shamm garm | 好心 嘅 = making
 exterior show of being kind.

| lraanv-zae | 仔 = a rotter, a gangster, a wastrel.

| puurn lraanv | 拚 | = not caring for consequences
 of one's unconventional or immoral action,
 persisting in disregarding others' reasonable
 advice.

lray 嚟 = to come.

Apart from its original meaning 'to come', 'lray' is
 used in Chinese dialects as a complement to denote direction

towards the speaker 'hither, here', as in 'xraang lay, fhey lay, nhenq lay' 'walk hither, fly hither, fetch hither (respectively)' towards the direction of the speaker. When there is a noun following such verbs of direction 'lay' becomes very similar to the English preposition 'to' as in 'Bring it to me' in Cantonese 'Nhenq lay ngror', (lit: Bring to me, without the pronoun 'it').

'Lay' can also take the place of the phrase 'in order to' as in 'ngror bee crinnv lay mraae kreoe' 'I pay him in order to buy (bribe) him'.

Another use of 'lay' is as a generalized verb for 'to do', as in 'kreoe zrou-jrear xoo lay-dhak gea' 'He is very capable'.

'Lay' used to indicate perfect tense.

Nree xeo! bhin sy lay? 你去邊處 (1) = Where have you been?

Nree zrou mhijrear lay? 你做乜嘢 | = What have you been doing? (natural pause after 'zrou')

Contrast 'Nree zrou-mhijrear lay a?' = Why have you come?

As a substitute verb referring to an action or event previously mentioned.

Nree darm-dhak zung mrar? Darng ngror lay lha! 你搵得中嗎? 等我 | 吐 | = Can you throw it right? Let me do it!

To indicate mild surprise.

Jrynnlroy xrai geedeoi faai zir lay 原來係 幾對筷子 | = They are a few pairs of chopsticks after all.

Kreoe xaam-xee-lay 佢喊起 | He burst out crying.

Tae-lray 睇 | = when you come to look at it;

also Tae-lray-cau lha 睇 | 湊啦 = It all depends;
I'll see; I have not decided yet.

Ziu ngror tae-lray 照我睇 | = according to my
opinion (view).

—Shek and seoe 色 水 = colour and water.

Shek seoe 色 水 = colour.

mrh xoo fhungshek 唔好風色 = bad weather (which
has caused illnesses).

mrh xoo thinnshek 唔好天色 = there is going to be
bad weather, rain, etc.

nree taezry-seoe 你睇住水 = You watch for any move,
you watch for the police or guards.

xoo mreangseoe 好命水 = having a charmed life
or good fortune.

xoo shammseoe 好心水 (possibly shammsreoev 心緒
originally) = kind, good-natured.

— see or sir 死 | = to die. It is often used as an
emphasis or to denote a sense of finality.

daar sir-lit 打 | 結 = to make a tight knot, one
that cannot be untied by just a pull.

kreoe see-dhou mrh jreng-co 佢 | 都唔認錯 = he
would never apologize (or admit he is wrong).

kreoe see-lray 佢 | 黎 = he makes a tremendous
effort.

← xee 起 = up, to rise, to start, to build.

dhap-xee go trawv 嗒 | 個頭 } = to stoop or lower the
or dhap-dhay go trawv head.

dhap-xee triw mree 嗒 | 條尾 = lower the tail,
'xee' 'up' is used here to indicate the
completion of the action of lowering the tail.

mraae-dhak-xee 買得 | = to be able to afford to
buy something.

nhenq-xee 擰 | = to pick up.

-sear-xee kreoe 寫 | 佢 = write it down.
(or sear-dhay kreoe) dhay = down.

seorng-xee 想 | = to recollect, to think of.

xee qhuk | 屋 = to build a house.

zrou-xee 做 | = to have completed work.

xraar and xraarv 𠵼 | = a little while, one stroke, one time.

'xraar' is a post-verbal suffix for any one-syllable verb, although it was originally 'jhat xraar' 'one stroke' 'one time' 'a little while', it has lost its special significance when used in this manner.

-tae-xraar 睇 | = to look.

-theanq-xraar 聽 | = to listen to.

wraannv-xraar 玩 | = to play.

zrou-xraar 做 | = to do.

This 'xraar' has become a very convenient suffix to put after a one-syllable verb especially where there is no object. Often there is no more trace of the original meaning of 'a stroke or a little while' in the context, even though 'xraar' is used after the verb.

'xraarv' following a duplicated verb makes up the sense of 'while the action is going on, or while something is happening'.

Kreoe dirndirn-xraarv 佢 — — | = he writhes in pain.

Ngror zrouzrou-xraarv-jrear gor zran srih, ngror
theanqgin xoo dhoh jrann sheanqx 我做 |
野 個 陣 時 我 聽 見 好 多 人 聲
While I was working, I heard a lot of people
talking (voices).

zaarn seems to be the popular form of 'zraanv'. 聽
 Probably 'zraan dhak' 聽得 or 'zraan zor' 聽咗 'to
 have earned (the occasion of, the trouble of)' became
 'zraanv' through compensatory modification. (See V, p. 227)
 As it is used only in colloquial speech the Cantonese
 people cannot be perfectly sure whether it is an original
 middle rising tone without character representation or the
 modified form of the low level tone word 'zraan' 聽 .

zaarn (or zraanv) gaao geazhea | 攞嘅咩 =
 It's no use; it's not worth troubling about
 it; it's futile.

zaarn (or zraanv) xraanq geazhea | 行嘅咩 =
 It will be of no effect; we shall be wasting
 our effort in going there.

zerng (整) = to make, to repair, to cause to happen,
 generalized verb for 'to do', 'to make'.

daar-zerng 打 | = to tidy up, to doll up.

Gwae-zerng nree mhe? 鬼 | 你咩? = What's the
 matter with you? Why are you so cross? (Have
 the spirits done anything to you?).

Nree zernggarn mhijrear a? 你 | 繫乜嘢呀? = What
 are you making?

zerng-dou lraanv lraan | 到爛 = make
 something very soft or all broken up.

zerng-gwae kreoe | 鬼 | = to fool him.

zerng-lrok grin shaammx-sy | 落件衫處 = to
 let a spot or smudge get on one's clothes.

zerng mhijrear? | 乜嘢 = What is the matter?
 What happened?

zerng-nhaw kreoe | 男佢 = to make him angry.

zri (自) seems to be a palatalization of the word zry* 住 ,
 'to stay, to dwell, to hold on', which is used as a post-

* cf. National Language 着

verbal suffix to indicate continuation of action as in
'zhaah zry' 'holding or holding on to (something)'. The
Metropolitan 'Zri' has a rural form 'zry' in such
constructions as the following.

— mrae-zri 咪 | = no, not yet! (mrae-zry[rural]).

— jhetzri-jhatzri xoo-fhaann — | — | 好翻 = gradually
getting well. (jhatzry jhatzry xoo-fhaann
(rural)).

ii. Phrases

bhow lroongrao 煲老藕 = to marry an old
(lit: to cook old lotus root) woman for her money.

'ngrao' 藕 'lotus root' and its homophone
偶 'spouse, one of a pair'. It is a pun on

brai-ghaahfor 弊傢伙 } = Oh, that's bad! Dash it!
brai ghaah-lhiu 弊像了 }

— caang troyvgeok 撐枱脚 = a couple eating
(lit: prop up table legs) at table by
themselves.

ceokmokmrorngrong 噉啖摸妄撞 = rash, impulsive.

— daar seoewray 打水圍 = to stage a hoax (slang).

— diu jhinngxghayx 吊煙龜 = suffering from lack
of a smoke.

— diu jrarn 吊癮 = suffering from the lack of some
pleasure or hobby or vice.

— doo-mreang-dit 賭命跌 = to take life as it is, to
(lit: gamble life stumble) take risks as they arise.

draai ghaahx dhou xrai garm wraa lha
(lit: we are both the same) 大家都係

— 嘅話啦 = I am no better than you in spite of your
compliment.

— fai shamm dou grek 貴心到極 = You are most kind,
a very polite phrase for 'thank you'.

— ghann jrann xao seoe mreex 限人口水尾 = copy cat.

— ghann zry kreoe mree 跟住佢尾 = to follow (behind)
him.

下個呢

ghoy whuuy 該 增 = Oh what bad luck!

graang-sao graang-geok 一 手 一 腳 = all arms
and legs, awkward in movement.

gwo, used as wings of building, or number of room-
space sidewise, as in lreorng brin gwo draai
qhuk 兩 便 過 大 屋 = double fronted
house.

kaighaah-proh 契 家 婆 = paramour (cf. Jou Chiuh-
fei's 周 去 非 Liingway Daydar 嶺 外 代 答
loc. cit. p. 43 which records 相 交 曰 契 交)

lheak-dou man 一 到 一 = very smart, having a
swollen head.

lray-dhak-cit 嚟 得 切 = to be on time, to finish
doing something in time.

lryn craar mrowray 亂 搽 無 為 = to daub over
indiscriminately, to scribble indiscriminately.

mor-shann mor-sai 摸 身 摸 勢 = pawing people.

mraay traw 埋 頭 = boat alongside the wharf. (cf.
Jou Chiuh-fei's 周 去 非 Liingway Daydar
嶺 外 代 答 loc. cit. p.).

mrh fran lroo 唔 份 老 = not admit one's (old) age,
to behave not according to one's (old) age.

mrh gai-daa1 唔 計 帶 = no matter how much it costs.

mrh ghoy shinn 唔 該 先 = I have had my food, thanks,
a stock answer to the greeting 'Have you
eaten yet?'

mrho-sri jrann 藐 視 人 = to despise people, to
look down the nose on people.

purng draai-geok 捧 大 腳 = (lit: to carry big
foot) to curry favour; to toady round the
great, see also 'tok draai-geok'.

qamngaar dae 暗 啞 抵 = to endure hardship or mental
hurt in silence.

saapngrong 煞 賴 or saap-nreegongrong 煞 你 個 賴 =
How dare you! You are indeed impertinent!
used as an interjection.

saar fhaahcheonqx 耍 花 窗 = (lit: play flower
window) to indulge in a lovers' quarrel.

saar mraanqghayx 耍盲雞 = to play blind man's buff. See also 'zhuk (zuk) mraanqghayx'.

shatgheanq mrowsrann 失驚無神 = suddenly without warning.

sokjraw 搽油 = (lit: breathe in grease, i.e. powder and rouge) to flirt with a woman.

sok xei mrh-fhaann 索氣唔翻 = choking while crying.

srek-dou zeoe mear-mear 食到嘴歪 = cooking so bad that one's mouth cannot keep straight, mouth goes awry, i.e. very bad cooking.

srek jrann xaoseoe-mreex 食人口水尾 = eat what is left by someone.

tok draai-geok 托大脚 = (lit: to carry big foot) to curry favour, to toady round the great, see also 'purng draai geok'.

tok lraai 托賴 = rather well in health (as a result of Fate's kindness).

tok sao-zhaanq 托手膝 = (lit: to push elbow) to fail one; as 'mrae tok mgror sao-zhaanq' 'don't fail me, don't let me down'.

trunq..... jraolrou 同... 有路 = to have fallen for some one (slang).

warn lroo-can 搵老親 = to take advantage of a gullible person.

wruuhlhih mraarcraar — — — = without order, untidy, indiscriminately, unsystematically..

xhiwxrang dou-grek 免俾到極 = have been most lucky.

xramghaah caarn 喊家劇 = may (your) whole family be exterminated, an interjection of exasperation.

xronqcrenq 行情 = news about betting, business, shares, etc. as in 'jrao mhatjrear xronq crenq?' 'What is the tip for the Stock Exchange (or the races)?'.

zaarmmrey sipngraarn 電(瞬)眉擰眼 = blinking, making grimaces.

zeon, used as number of room-space as regards depth of house, as in 'chat zeonshamm draai qhuk'
 七進大屋 'seven lengths depth house'.

zheong-zrau 將就 = to be lenient, to forgive.
 zheongzheong zrauzrau lha = please be lenient to me.

zhuk (or zuk) mraanqghayx 捉盲雞 = to play blind man's buff. See also 'saar mraanqghayx'.

iii. Sayings - including a few puns and rhymes

Some of these sayings are called 諧後語 *, namely, a saying cut short, so that only the first part is said and the audience or listener is expected to know the unspoken part and understand the implication of the whole. I put in brackets the parts which are usually left unsaid. I am not including the many Cantonese proverbs here, as they would fill numerous pages.

A-Bhanq cheoy shiwx (lrauv xei) 亞崩吹簫 (漏氣) =
 lit: The hare-lipped one blowing a flute; breath escapes. When a person procrastinates, or is not doing his work quickly and efficiently, he is described as 'lrauv xei' that is, not having full breath, lacking energy, but a hare-lipped person cannot blow a flute without letting breath escape, hence the saying, meaning, you are not up and doing, you let things slide.

A-Lrunq sung shonq (mrh theanq nree zhih sir-jrann-dreakv)
 亞聾送喪 (唔聽你扶死人笛) =
 lit: Like the deaf one at a funeral, not hearing your funeral pipe - meaning, I am not listening to your nonsense.

Crong xraa-dae po craay, (bhaaw zrong baarn)
 床下底破柴 (包撞板) = lit: chopping firewood under the bed, certainly will hit the bed-boards, meaning, one will certainly put one's foot in it, or get into trouble.

*See E. Schmitt in Asia Major Vol IX (1933) pp 568-579
 and in Archiv für Ostasien Vol I (1948) pp 13-19.

- For kreyldreonnv (zhaw shann jrarn) 火麒麟 (週身燃) =
lit: a firework unicorn, having fuses all over his body. The word 'jrarn' 'the fuse of the firework' has a homophone meaning 'indulgence, vice, hobbies, etc.'. The saying is meant to refer to a person with too many 'likes' or hobbies, or one who tries too many things.
- Gaakjrea jraw zraa gwae (mrɔo(v) forxei) 隔夜由炸鬼 (有火氣) = lit: Like # previous evening 'doughnut sticks' having lost the fire (fried) flavour - meaning, you have no guts, no courage of your conviction, too soft.
- Gwhongwan jryzreok mroo-prey-craay 光棍遇着冇皮柴 =
lit: a barren rod, (metaphor for a cheat) meeting with a barkless stick of firewood - meaning, a cheat meeting with a penniless person.
- Jhat brou thungshyhx tae-dou lroo 一部通書睇到老 =
lit: the one (selfsame) calendar book used till one's old age - referring to a person with a one track mind.
- Jreahjhihx dhou xrai soubaar, mrh zroi craar-craar-xraarv (rhyming) 椰衣都係掃把唔在搽乜吓 = lit: the fibres of the coconut shell are also (= could be made into) a broom. It is not necessary to daub one with it - meaning, You don't have to be so sarcastic, I understand your double meaning.
- Laatlhei traann preypraahv, gwuudhak sreong mrh gwuu-dhak xraa (rhyming) —— 彈琵琶顧得上唔顧得下 = lit: a person with ringworm scalp trying to play the pyipa, while worrying about the top (scratching his head) he cannot look after what is below (playing the instrument) meaning, one cannot manage all things at the same time.
- Shaanq braakgwor (sheanq gaap mruun) 生白果 (解及悶) =
lit: like a raw Gingko nut, unpleasant in odour and nauseating - referring to a person who is very difficult to please.
- Xronn Seon zeong bhenq (dhoh dhoh jhek srin) 韓信將兵 (多多益善) = lit: Harn Shinn leading troops, the more the better - meaning, the more the better or referring to some one who is greedy or covetous, who will take as much as you will give.
- Zrouv jrat wrohsreongv (zrau xhaawx jrat zhunqx) 做日和尚 (就敲日鐘) = lit: To be a monk one day (or as long as one is a monk) then one must ring the bell each day - meaning, as long as one is in such a position or job, one has to carry on, even though one's heart is not in the job.

Chapter IV.

The Cantonese Tones in General

A. A Critical Survey of the Contributions made by Western and Chinese scholars.

For the native speakers of the Cantonese Dialect there is, of course, no necessity for making a special study of its tones since they have learned to make the tones from their parents or elders, and are thus enabled to produce the correct tones in every single case. The case is different, however, when Chinese, who speak other dialects, or Western students try to learn Cantonese, as they have thus to acquire the eight basic tones, as recognized by some Cantonese teachers, or the nine basic tones, as recognized by others who have become conscious of the middle clipped tone which intruded upon the belief that the Chinese tones pyng 平, shanq 上, chih 去, and ruh 入 evolved only two pitches in each. Some Western scholars, however, irrespective of these two theories, used their Cantonese teachers as informants and produced independent articles, books and dictionaries for the study of Cantonese. It is amusing now to see how indignant E.H. Parker¹ felt when he thought his observation of some extra tones in Cantonese was ignored. Actually they were acknowledged if

1. See his article on 'The Comparative study of Chinese dialects', NCBJRS New Series, No. XII. 1878.

only casually and without further investigation by E.J. Eitel in the Introduction to his Dictionary of Cantonese¹. Among Western writers J. Dyer Ball² has perhaps done most in following up the study of these 'variant' tones noticed by Parker which are called 'Modified Tones' in this thesis and which will be described and discussed later. They have been heard and recognized by O'Melia, who wrote a short paragraph on the Variant Tones in his First Year Cantonese³, but he did not mark them consistently in his lessons, in fact, very seldom indeed. Professor Y.R. Chao in his Cantonese Primer⁴ marks all the 'variant' tones in its twenty-four lessons and he calls them the 'Changed Tones' or pinn'iam, and so the student's task in his study is much facilitated. The best description of this phenomenon in Cantonese tones appears to be, however, the chapter on 'changed tones' in S.L. Wong's 'A Cantonese Syllabary pronounced according to the Dialect of Canton' Shanghai, 1941, pp. 34-53, and the article 'Rules for the use of the Variant Tones in Cantonese' in the China Review, Vol. XXIV, 1900 April-May, pp. 209-226.⁵

As mentioned in Chapter I the general rule

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1. E.J. Eitel: A Chinese-English Dictionary in the Cantonese Dialect, Revised and enlarged by I.G. Genähr, Hongkong, 1910, pp. XII-XIII.
 2. In Cantonese Made Easy, 2nd edition, Hongkong, 1888, pp. XVI-XVII.
 3. T.A. O'Melia: First Year Cantonese, Hongkong 1939, p. XXIII.
 4. Y.R. Chao: Cantonese Primer, Harvard University Press, 1947.
 5. See below p 200.

for pronouncing Cantonese tones is to produce every tone of every word clearly and distinctly, and exactly, for they do not become neutral in compounds as tones sometimes do in the National Language. That is why Cantonese tones are considerably more exacting for Western students than those of the National Language. Professor Y.R. Chao in his Cantonese Primer says "Every syllable retains practically the same tone value whether it stands alone or is pronounced contiguously with another syllable" (p.26). Cantonese tones change only for special reasons, that is, they become 'modified' in certain circumstances which will be described in the section called 'The Origin, functions ^{of the Modified Tones} and analogical development of the modified tones in Chapter ~~XVB~~

On account of the extra tones, called 'variant' or 'modified' by various authors, the question of the number of tones in Cantonese has been a vexed one. Liou Fuh 劉復 in his thesis "Etude Experimentale sur les Tons du Chinois" Paris, 1925, p. 46, mentioned how he had to learn about the jong ruh 中入 Middle Clipped Tone, from a Cantonese phonetician, and apparently it was a surprise for Liou that Cantonese had developed this tone. He wrote "Comme je l'ai dit plus haut, les huit tons du Cantonais, sont, bien connus, mais depuis ces dernieres annees, on a decouvert qu'il y en a encore un neuvieme: le 4 c bis (i.e. Middle Clipped). The fact that the middle clipped tone in Cantonese has not been recognized

by many for a long time shows how strongly the convention of the eight tones affects the opinion of Chinese speakers of all dialects, as in the case of Liou Fuh, but the Cantonese cannot deny the existence of this middle clipped tone, because they pronounce their tones so distinctly and accurately that they cannot but distinguish the existence of three pitches in the clipped tone group.

Among Western writers on Cantonese Dr. S.W. Williams and Dr. E.J. Eitel were the pioneers. Eitel realized the existence of nine primary tones, that is to say, he recognized the middle clipped, and admitted that there were modified forms of certain of these tones, whereas Williams allowed the shang ruh 上入 High Clipped and jong ruh 中入 Middle Clipped to be grouped together after the fashion of the Fan-Yunn Tsooh-yaw 分韻撮要¹, a Cantonese syllabary which divides the words into eight groups according to their tones and which fails to divide the high clipped and middle clipped. Both Williams and Eitel, however, seem to have been misled in the matter of the pyng tone movements. Owing to the conventional names of 平上去入 (translated by Williams and Eitel as Even, Rising, Going, Entering) adopted by the Cantonese from the beginning, and owing to the fact that names of Chinese tones were meant to be illustrations of their respective tone movements both Williams and Eitel failed

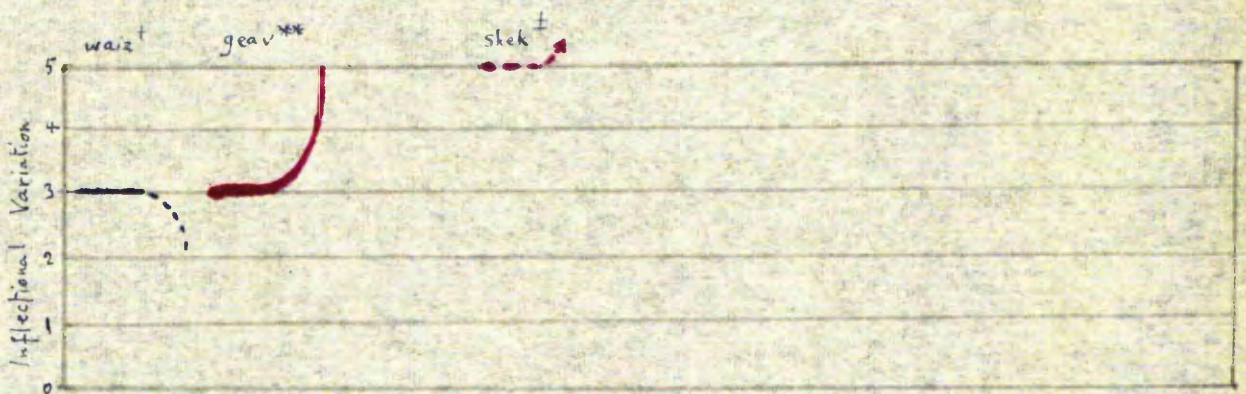
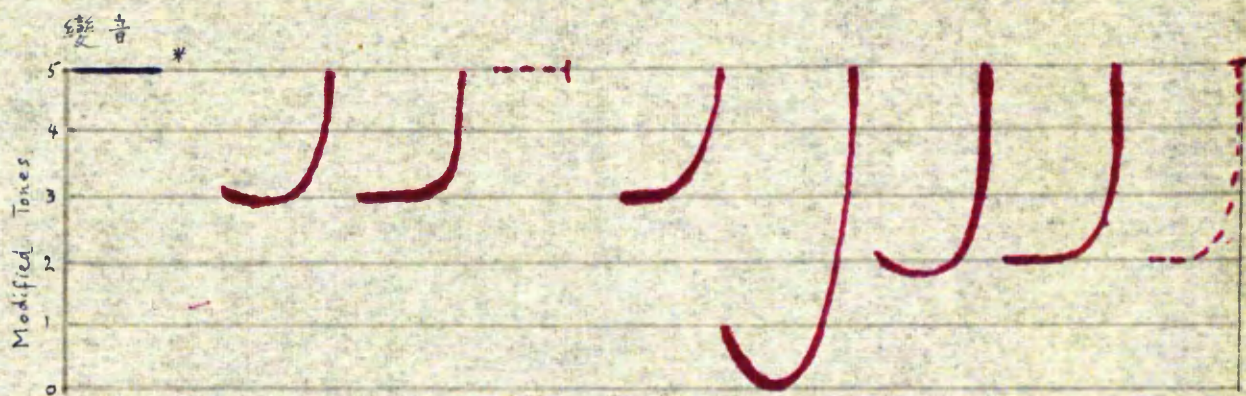
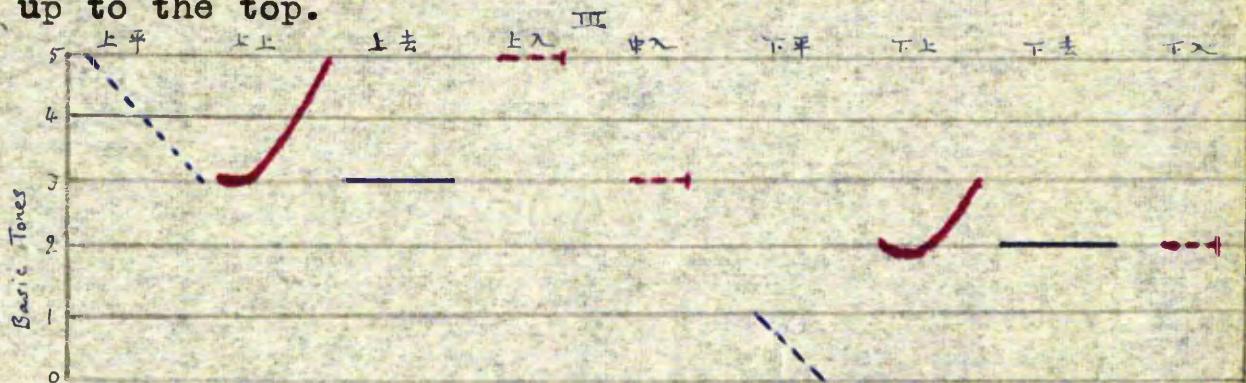
1. 分韻撮要
unknown.

by 周冠山 of 順德 year of publication

to describe accurately the present-day movement of the Cantonese pyng 平 tone, which means level or even but which has actually become a falling tone today and the chiu tone, which means falling away or going but which has actually become a level tone today. Following upon this Eitel failed to place the high level tone, which Professor Y.R. Chao calls the 1st changed tone 第一變音. It seems that Eitel misnamed it as the 'Medial Even Tone' and put it lower than the shanq pyng 上平 in pitch, for he said it was between what he called the High Even (shanq pyng 上平) and Low Even (shiah pyng 下平).

At this point it is necessary to clear up the confusion caused by misnomers of tones adopted by writers who merely translated the conventional Chinese tone names without paying attention to the actual tone movement. In order to be more accurate one has to call the Cantonese tones High falling (上平), Middle rising (上上), Middle level (上去), High clipped (上入), Middle clipped (中入), Low falling (下平), Low rising (下上), Low level (下去), Low clipped (下入), that is, naming them in English according to their starting pitch and their movement. Further there are the 1st Modified Tone (第一變音) which is a high level tone and the 2nd Modified Tones (第二變音) which are long rising tones starting from whichever point the original tones they modify start and end at the top of the range. Putting

these tones down in a chart, one sees that they should be divided into four pitches rather than two, as there are definitely sets of 3 level tones and 3 clipped tones and there are the two very low tones shiah pyng 下平 and the modified tone of shiah pyng 下平 origin which reaches a depth as low as the shiah pyng before it soars up to the top.



* Either the 1st Modified Tone or a loan word in high level tone, for example, ngkaam = correct

† A drop in the voice at the end of the middle level tone of 'wai', meaning 'Hullo!'

** Final particle, with a drop in the voice at the end of the middle level tone of 'gea'.

‡ A high clipped tone at the end of a rhetorical question, etc. See p. 155.

Having fixed the names of these Cantonese tones according to their movements instead of merely translating their conventional Chinese names, we can proceed to look back at the tone Eitel called Medial Even (中平). Probably when he heard the difference between the 1st Modified Tone and the shang pyng (high falling) he looked for an extra Pyng Tone to dispose of this difference, and then was led to believe that the 1st Tone Class (Pyng Tone) had three divisions¹. Probably when he glanced casually at the Wuin Jinyunn 五音集韻 (1203 A.D. by Harn Dawjau 韓道昭 of the Jin 金 Dynasty) he thought that the pyng tone group there was based on a triple division according to the actual speech of the time. Indeed the book claimed to represent the actual speech of the time, but unfortunately its compiler did not divide the 1st Tone-Class (pyng) in that way because there were three different pitches in that tone as Eitel supposed, but he divided it into three parts 上中下 upper, middle, lower, probably because it was such a large class, compared with the other tone classes; therefore the three parts were rather a question of spacing and had nothing to do with the pitches of the pyng tone, and so there was no foundation for the belief that there were three pitches in the pyng tone in the Chinese language around 1203 A.D. After Eitel, writers realized more and more the importance

1. See Eitel: Chinese-English Dictionary, revised and enlarged, Hongkong, 1910, p. XI.

of this high level tone (here called 1st Modified Tone) in spoken Cantonese and paid more attention to it. It seems, however, that the level movement of this tone as compared with the falling movement of Shang pyng 上平 caused confusion in the minds of some writers on Cantonese. As has already been said, Shang pyng was translated as "High Even" or "Upper Even" and some writers must have so fixed the name "Even" to the actually falling movement that they accepted this movement as the norm for the Pyng (Even or Level) tone and then found it difficult to reconcile the idea of admitting this 1st Modified Tone into the Pyng category, because its movement was different from that of the Cantonese shang pyng. The fact that present day Cantonese pyng and chieh tones have exchanged their movements must have caused a great deal of confusion in the minds of students of Cantonese, especially when English writers merely translated the traditional Chinese names for tones into English without taking into account this anomaly. Eitel, and even Dyer Ball in his Cantonese Made Easy p. XXIV, followed Williams' description of the pyng tone, a description much influenced by the meaning of the character 平 (even, level). Moreover, the Chinese themselves had a verse¹ describing the tone movements part of which Williams included in his description of the four tone-classes, but unfortunately this verse described the original movement of the four tone-

1. 平聲平道莫低昂 上聲高呼猛列強 去聲分明哀遠道 入聲短促急收藏


classes, not the movements of tones of present-day Cantonese, which has followed an independant development in its own area.

S.W. Williams wrote in his Easy Lessons in Chinese, Macao, 1842, p.49,

The p'ing shing (pyng) is precisely the musical monotone pronounced without elevation or depression, being the natural unconstrained expression of the voice; the Chinese say, "its even path is neither high nor low".

Again, in his description of the chiu tone, he wrote,

The hui shing (chiuh) is a prolonged tone, diminishing while it is uttered, just as a diminuendo, or an inverted swell does in music, and sounded somewhat gruffly. The Chinese say that it is "clear, distinct, its dull, low path is long" and they call it the departing tone, because it goes away like flowing water never to return. It is the converse of the sheung shing (shanq), ending lower than it began.

R.T. Cowles, however, in his Inductive Course in Cantonese Kelly and Walsh, Hongkong, 2nd edition, revised 1920, Book I pp. 15-16 appears to have depended more on his own judgement in this matter. Although he partly accepts the description of the pyng tone, saying that 'the first, or Upper Even is spoken shortly without change of voice ...' he adds, 'Singly his (teacher's) pronounciation of this upper even tone may appear '. Then he goes on to the shiah pyng (Low falling) which he calls Lower Even which he says, 'When pronounced alone is given a falling voice as remarked above concerning Upper even'. It is evident from this that he perceived the falling movement; but then he said this (falling movement) was not to be used when

the shiah pyng tone is not pronounced singly. He did not seem to be very sure of this falling movement: perhaps his conviction was undermined by a tone Sandhi which occurs in Cantonese only when a high falling tone is immediately followed by another high tone, as in a compound like theyghey 'aeroplane', the first syllable 'they' does not fall because the second syllable is also high. Professor Y.R. Chao described this tone Sandhi in Cantonese clearly in his Cantonese Primer, p. 26 stating that when a high falling precedes another high falling or precedes a high clipped the first syllable does not fall. Cowles did not seem very clear about the 1st Modified tone but he apparently noticed the non-falling of the first syllable when tone Sandhi occurred. In a note, however, he seems to have drawn a false conclusion, owing probably to his being unable to distinguish between the 1st Modified tone and its function and the tone Sandhi mentioned above. He says, 'In some words and under some circumstances the upper even tone is raised to a pitch considerably above the usual. Where two words of the upper even come together the second will often be thrown into the higher pitch'. He may be referring here to a high falling preceding a 1st Modified Tone, but even then their starting pitches are the same.

From what has already been said it is apparent why most students of Cantonese were misled into believing that the high falling was a level or even tone, owing to the

meaning of the character 平 as the name of the 1st Tone-class which has, however, changed its movement in Cantonese. My attention was first called to this matter by Professor W. Simon, who called the shang pyng tone 'high falling' and shiah pyng tone 'low falling' and acquainted me with the fact that the pyng and chiuh movements have reversed their positions in Cantonese. Accordingly he called the shang chiuh tone 'middle level' and the shiah chiuh tone 'low level'. He also pointed out that it would be necessary to divide the tones in Cantonese into four pitches in order to put them in their right places. Professor Y.R. Chao in his Cantonese Primer p. 24 divides the Cantonese tones into two pitches, according to tradition, but follows this up by dividing the ranges into five: 1. Low, 2. half-low, 3. medium, 4. half high, 5. high, so as to place the tones in more appropriate ranges. Unfortunately he did not include the movement of the Modified tones in his chart. Eitel's division of the tones into four classes (Chinese-English Dictionary, p. XIV) is as follows:-

High tone-class

1. Upper even tone (上平)
2. Upper entering tone (上入)

Low tone-class

1. Lower even tone (下平)
2. Lower departing tone (下去)
3. Lower entering tone (下入)

Medial tone-class

1. Upper departing tone (上 去)
2. Medial entering tone (中 入)

Inflected tone-class

1. Upper rising tone (上 上)
2. Lower rising tone (下 上)

and Dyer Ball's division into three pitches (Cantonese Made Easy and Vocabulary, Introduction p. XXIII) is as follows:-

Upper Series

上平 shǒng² p'ing

上上 shǒng² shǒng

上去 shǒng² hui'

上入 shǒng² yap₂

Middle Tones

中平 chung p'ing

上聲變音 shǒng² shing pin' yam*

中入 chung yap,

Lower Series

下平 Ha² p'ing

下上 Ha² shǒng² (should be shǒng)

下去 Ha² hui'

下入 Ha² yap₂

These are inadequate; firstly Eitel groups the rising tones shanq shanq and shiah shanq together, apart from all the other tones, without indicating their starting pitch (as being high, middle, or low) and does not take into account the modified tones, either 1st or 2nd; secondly in Dyer Ball's classification jong pyng 中平 (actually he meant the high level, or 1st Modified Tone) was put among the Middle Tones and the rising and level

tones shang shang and shang chiuh which have a middle starting pitch are grouped with the shang pyng and shang ruh which have a higher starting pitch. It is strange that Dyer Ball failed to recognize the high pitch of his jong pyng (1st Modified Tone) and allowed this misnomer to continue even though this tone starts in the highest pitch and remains high and is certainly not lower than the high falling. Perhaps the authority of Eitel hypnotized him until he realized and corrected his error subsequently¹. Professor Chao, in his Cantonese Primer describes and shows in his diagram (p.24) the correct movement of the pyng and chiuh tones, but he does not change the English names of these tones to correspond with their true movements, so that throughout his book he still uses the time-honoured English names 'Even' and 'Going' for pyng and chiuh, although he qualifies them with the correct 'falling' and 'level' description, respectively, to dispel any misunderstanding. Professor Chao, of course, recognised the existence of the jong ruh, (middle clipped), but neither in his explanation nor in his diagram did he emphasize or give distinctly a division of the four pitches, the first three of which cannot fail to be noticed if one merely takes into account the three pitches of the (clipped) Tones. Again if one considers the high pitch which the 1st Modified Tone maintains and

1. Readings in Cantonese Colloquial, Hongkong 1894, p.XIX.

high pitch with which the high falling begins, by the side of the starting pitch of the shanq shanq (middle rising) and that of the shanq chiuh (middle level) which agrees in pitch with the jong ruh (middle clipped), and then in the same way the starting pitch of the shiah shanq (low rising) and that of the shiah chiuh (low level) which agrees with the shiah ruh (low clipped) and so these last three tones are in the pitch lower than the 'middle' tones. The above series like the clipped tones described above also represent the first three pitches. Finally there is the very low pitch with which the shiah pyng (low falling) starts as well as the still lower pitch it reaches when falling. Similarly, we have the 2nd Modified tone (of shiah pyng origin) which starts from the same pitch as the shiah pyng and falls as low before it rises to the highest pitch. The starting pitch of these two tones therefore represents the series in the lowest pitch. Thus these tones make up a four pitch system. As the patterns of the 2nd Modified Tone show a rise from wherever the respective original tones begin as shown in the diagram above. (III)

Professor Daniel Jones describes clearly and correctly in his Cantonese Phonetic Reader (Jones and Woo, London, 1912, p. xiv) the movements of pyng and chiuh calling them appropriately 'falling' and 'level', and he does not follow the convention of ignoring the true movements of these tones in order to make them agree with

their Chinese names. In his chart on p. XVII in the Reader the correspondence of his 'Scientific description' to the 'Cantonese Names' of the tones and the 'literal meaning of the Cantonese Names' he gives a very clear picture. Unfortunately the jong ruh (middle clipped) has not been specially noted nor have the four different starting pitches been clearly distinguished, since the starting pitch of the shanq shanq (middle rising) and that of the shanq chiuh (middle level) have not been indicated in the 'Scientific description' as being lower than that of the shanq pyng (high falling) and of the shang ruh (high clipped): since they are all called 'Upper', one may be misled into thinking that all have the same starting pitch. Also the modified tones have not been dealt with.

Since the writing of this thesis, I have come across a more recent statement of Professor D. Jones regarding Cantonese tones in his book 'Phoneme: Its Nature and Use', Cambridge, 1950. As regards Tone Sandhi in Cantonese Professor D. Jones explains it in his Phoneme, p. 153, 475. But it is not correct to say that the words `to (much), `sin (previously) are pronounced with high falling pitch 'when they occur at the end of a sentence', as they usually remain high falling even in ^{any part} ~~the middle~~ of a sentence. It also follows that it is incorrect to say 'In most non-final positions, however, such words are said with a simple high pitch in which no fall is

perceptible'. \to \to (very much), \sin \say (Mr.) can indeed be represented by [- \] but the true reason for the non-falling of the first \to and the first \sin is due to the high tones \to and \say which follow them immediately. If the tones immediately following had been lower pitch tones the first two high falling tones would not have been prevented from falling, even though they are non-final in position. In short, tone sandhi occurs in Cantonese when a high falling tone is immediately followed by another high pitch tone which could be a high level tone, a high clipped tone, or another high falling tone, as pointed out earlier in this thesis. (See p. 148).

Referring to the high level or 1st Modified Tone Professor Daniel Jones wrote subsequently in 'The Phoneme' p. 154 note 3,

"... In Mr. Wu's pronunciation there exists an "extra high level tone" which he uses in final position in certain cases. When the Reader was written, I regarded this tone as a variant of the high-falling tone employed solely in final positions as a kind of sentence intonation. I have, however, subsequently learnt that it undoubtedly constitutes a separate toneme, though I have no examples from Mr. Wu's speech to prove this. Many conclusive examples have been furnished me by Mrs. Rose Fletcher, who is bi-lingual (English and Cantonese) and expert phonetician and /an who has examined the speech of many Cantonese. Illustrative words are \kwai (home) but \kwai (tortoise), \sa:m (n final in original a misprint) (three) but \sa:m (n final here also a misprint) (clothes). It appears that in her type of Cantonese the distinction is even found in words ending with the stops."

One notes that Mrs. Fletcher notices correctly that 'three' is in the high falling tone, but 'clothes' (or 'jacket')

must be in the high level tone, as such a familiar article as 'jacket' is modified owing to compensation for the disappearance of the diminutive suffix, as will be explained in Chapter ~~III~~ and IVB. But in high pitch words ending with the stops I do not hear ^{for instance} any distinction between bhat 'not' and bhat 'pen'. Some people seem to think they distinguish these by a higher pitch or more force or greater length for the 'pen', but it seems to me that it varies with the speaker and the circumstance. The only example of a high level tone among such high pitch words ending with stops is when such a word comes at the end of a sentence or question taking the full weight of the sentence intonation, as in 'Mrh thunq ngror nree dhou mrh sh-e-k?' with a lengthening and heightening of pitch for surprise. (Do you mean to say that you don't know even me?)

Father T.A. O'Melia in the Introduction to his First Year Cantonese, Hongkong 1939 (p. XVIII) divides the nine 'standard' or primary tones into three series, upper, middle, and lower. However, he only puts the jong ruh (middle clipped) in the middle series and leaves the shanq shanq (middle rising) and the shanq chiuh (middle level) in the upper series according to old custom, instead of placing them in their appropriate positions, namely in the middle series. Although he recognizes the 'variant' tones he does not mark many in his book, but leaves the task probably to native Cantonese teachers, which is what

he implied in his paragraph on variant tones (p. XXIII).

One of the people who could really get away from the old Chinese tone-names is Paul K. Benedict⁽¹⁾ who describes the Cantonese tones thus: "Eight tonal accents: high (X^1), mid-high (X^2), mid-low (X^3), low (X^4); falling (X^I), high-rising (X^{II}), mid-low-rising (X^{III}), low-rising (X^{IV}).

All eight tones are found with the syllable yi:

yi ¹	"aunt" (high, level)
yi ²	"idea, meaning" (mid-high, level)
yi ³	"two" (mid-low, level)
yi ⁴	"doubt" (low; often slight fall before pause) ⁽²⁾
yi ^I	"clothes" (falling from high register)
yi ^{II}	"chair" (rising from mid high register)
a ² -yi ^{III}	"No. 2" (in address) (rising from mid-low register) ⁽³⁾
yi ^{IV}	"ear" (rising from low register)

(1) In his article on Tonal Systems in South east Asia, J.A.O.S. No. 68, 1948, p. 186.

(2) Apparently the fall is only noticed by Benedict when it is more conspicuous, as before a pause. I shall discuss later in pp 1584/66 how Cantonese speakers vary as regards the heaviness and slightness of the fall in this tone.

(3) The author has given a note in connection with this tone (Note 5) saying 'This tone (mid-rising) appears to have gone hitherto unrecognized, thus, no mention of it is made in the standard sketch by D. Jones and K.T. Woo (Cantonese Phonetic Reader, London, 1912). It is a prominent feature of the speech of the writer's principal informants, however, and is employed by several other native speakers (from the city of Canton) with whom the writer checked on this point'. Mr. Benedict has therefore pointed out correctly a 2nd Modified Tone, modified from a 'mid-low, level tone' according to his way of describing the tones but he has not mentioned anything about 2nd Modified Tones modified from tones other than this special one given.

Another good description of the Cantonese Tones is found in a recent article by K.M.A. Barnett called ' A Transcription for Cantonese: Notes on Mr. Yuen Ren Chao's "Cantonese Primer" ' in B.S.O.A.S. Vol XIII, Pt. 3, 1950, p. 735.

"Any system of rendering the Cantonese tones is, I think, bound to fail unless it rests on a threefold division (high, medium and low) instead of two-fold. So divided we find ourselves with seven basic tones:-

High	(1) Level (long or short)	55:
	(2) Falling	52:
Medium	(1) Level	33:
	(2) Rising	35:
Low	(1) Level	22:
	(2) Falling	10:
	(3) Rising	212: "

Then he goes on to place in their appropriate positions among the above numbers or pitches the various tones under the Chinese nomenclature, including the clipped tones.

From what has been said it is evident that the clearly distinguished tones of Cantonese have four pitches, even if for convenience writers consider them as divided into twofold or threefold, that the Cantonese dialect has developed definitely a jong ruh (middle clipped) in addition to the old division of two pitches in the clipped tone group; and that there are also two special tones in this dialect - the first of which is a high level tone, (1st Modified Tone 第一變音 as well as high tone words which remain high and level, for reasons given in the Tone Chart III explanation), which tone, together with the shang chiuh (middle level) and the shiah chiuh (low level), forms a

triple set of level movements; the second of the special tones, namely the 2nd Modified Tone 第二變音, which comprises a modified tone, which rises up from a starting pitch according to that of the original tone it is modifying, to the highest pitch. In view of the varying starting pitches of tones that go to make the 2nd modified tones, we can easily make up a triple set of long rising tones out of these, not to mention the twofold rising tones from among the primary tones. Lastly, to make things even more complicated and the tonal system richer still, there are occasional falls or dropping of voice in pronouncing a middle level vocative, such as waiz, 'Hullo', or at the end of a phrase or sentence a middle level final particle has a fall, so that bo > boz, gea > geaz. Luckily these falls do not occur too often nor inevitably, as slow speakers may not drop their voices on such occasions, although the majority of speakers do, thus showing still the possibility of Cantonese speakers wavering between the level and falling movements.

As most other Chinese dialects tend to combine tones (accretions), especially among the northern groups, and reduce the number of primary or standard tones to less than the traditional eight, and as other dialects have not definitely developed a three pitch set of clipped tones, level tones, etc., and have not switched over so completely the movements of the pyng and the chih, and as other main dialects have no modified tones which indi-

cate some special meanings or purposes attached to the modification as shall be hereafter described (in Chapter V), it is little wonder that earlier students of Cantonese found the Cantonese tonal system more puzzling than that of any other dialect and fell into pitfalls prepared for them by the traditional nomenclature which in modern times does not necessarily correspond any more to the actualities in any Chinese dialect.

B. The Distribution of the Ancient tones in the Cantonese tonal system.

General Remarks

Looking at the distribution of the ancient tones in the Cantonese dialect superficially and accepting the time-honoured nomenclature of tones which is still used for Cantonese tones today, one might think that it is a simple correspondence, since among the Cantonese basic tones there is the full number of the four upper and four lower tones, plus one middle clipped tone 中入, the intermediate development in the ruh 入 tone. But when we examine the Cantonese tones more closely and compare them, tone for tone, with those in the Chie Yunn 切韻, we find that a large number of Cantonese tones have also shared with the other dialects the fate of the shifting of tone patterns¹ which was bound up with the theory of devoicing of Chinese initials².

1. See B. Karlgren: *Études de Phonologie de la Chinoise*, Leiden, 1915-1926, Chapter 16.

2. See W. Simon: *Die Spaltung der Chinesischen Tieftöne*, Asia Major, Vol. IV, p. 618.

Apart from this shift, we are also confronted with the change of movement in the pyng 平 and chiuh 去 tones. It seems rather strange that the Cantonese dialect which has preserved the upper and lower divisions of all the four ancient tones should have interchanged completely the movements of the two pyng (ancient level tones) and the two chiuh (ancient falling tones) in modern Cantonese, with the result that the so-called pyng 平 of Cantonese today actually has a falling movement and the so-called chiuh actually has a level movement, so that it cannot be said with regard to Cantonese tones today that their movements correspond to the tone-names as it was once said of Chinese tones in ancient times (c. 600 A.D.). (Regarding the question of tone-nomenclature see IV A)

Besides movements of the tones we have to consider their pitches as well. The ancient Chinese dealt only with their movements and left us with no data as regards how high and how low a pitch each individual tone began its movement. Their sole concern and indeed the concern of most Chinese scholars up to modern times has been with the movements of the tones. But in a dialect like Cantonese, the description or fixing of the pitch is also very important as it has more pitches than most if not all Chinese dialects.

Furthermore the Cantonese dialect has 'variant readings' for some tones which are called in this thesis the First and Second Modified tones. These tones cannot be

explained simply, for they seem to occur for a variety of reasons not fully explained hitherto by any writer. In view of this I am deferring the discussion of them till later (see Chapter V). I shall, however, end this section by listing a few peculiar features in connection with the basic tones.

— 1. Interchange of movements in the pyng and chiuh tones.

Regarding the interchange of movements in the pyng 平 and chiuh 去 tones in Cantonese we cannot offer any satisfactory explanation, nor for that matter can anyone do so satisfactorily with regard to the change of tone-movements in any other Chinese dialect. We know that the 2nd tone 陽平 in the National Language has become a rising tone, and nobody has so far investigated seriously the reason for this change. Indeed nobody at the present time can give a complete survey of the fate that has befallen each of the ancient tones and give reason for each and every change, as we lack material for such a survey; as such a survey would probably entail the study of the tonal systems of all the Chinese dialects and subdialects, and this study has not been carried out to any extent. In spite of such a disappointing prospect, I propose to look into possible causes and influences that may have led to the complete interchange of movements in the two pyng tones and two chiuh tones in Cantonese.

• a. The Pyng 平 tone.

The only record we have of the movement of pyng 平

changing its behaviour is found in the preface of Luh Faa-yan's 陸法言 Chie Yunn 切韻 (601 A.D.) which says that in Liang Yih (roughly present day Yunnan, Syhchuan, Gueyjou) the pyng tone is (pronounced) like the chih tone*. Among all Chinese dialects of today Metropolitan Cantonese is the only one in which both the pyng tones have become falling (see Chart I). The political history of the Cantonese people and especially their close connection with the Tai tribes make it not improbable to suppose that Canton could have inherited this speech habit of the Liang Yih districts or at least shared this development. As I pointed out before (Chapter II) the present day dialects of Yunnan, Syhchuan and Gueyjou do not tally with this record of Luh because political vicissitudes caused new Chinese settlers to inhabit these provinces, especially since the Mongol conquests, and therefore the dialects in these districts are nowadays more akin to the National Language and as far as I know, do not furnish a trace of this tendency recorded in the preface of Chie Yunn. However, several dialects in the vicinity of Liang Yih 梁益 still furnish a link with the past.

For instance,

1. The Chinese loan words in the Tai dialect of Shianqjou 象州 (in Goangshi) keep faithfully to this speech habit of giving the pyng tones a falling movement.

* See Goang Yunn 廣韻 (Preface) SBBY No. 梁益則平聲似去

The following examples have been taken from a manuscript of Mr. S.L. Wong's Tai dialect of Shianqjou (廣西象州僮語之研究).

<u>Shianqjou Tai</u>	<u>Cantonese</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
雙 \sɔŋ*	sheong	two
三 \sam	shaamm	three
十 \dzin	chinn	thousand
星 \siŋ	shenq(x)	star
金 \gim	ghamm(x)	gold
燈 \daŋ	dhanq(x)	lamp
心 \sim	shamm(x)	heart
雲 \wɔn	wrann	cloud
雷 \lui	lreoy	thunder
時 \sɔi	srih	time
羊 \ioŋ	jreong	sheep
龍 \loŋ	lrung	dragon
橙 \daŋ	craanq(v)	orange
銀 \ŋɔn	ngrann(v)	silver
銅 \doŋ	trung	brass
錢 \dzin	crinn(v)	money
油 \iu	jraw	oil
茶 \dza	craah	tea
人 \uɔn	jrann	man

ii. Although the Seiyap 四邑 subdialect and the Hakka dialect (both spoken by a large number of inhabitants on

* Mr. S.L. Wong gives the mark \ for the high falling tone and / for the low falling tone.

Cantonese soil) have preserved the level movement for shanqpyng 上平, they have gone over to the falling movement in their shiahpyng 下平.

iii. Perhaps it is also no coincidence that in the Diao dialect of ^{Goangshi} Guey-jou (within the Liang Yih orbit) we find a change of tone movements similar to that of the Cantonese dialect. According to ^{Maspero*} Savina BEFEO Vol. XI, 1911, pp. 162-3

Siamois

Diao

Egal

>

Descendant in Consonnes hautes^{aspirées, sifflantes} et Consonnes basses: ^{sonores, liquides, nasales}.

In other Tai dialects spoken on the soil of Yunnan and Gueyjou there also occurs the phenomenon of the level tone becoming falling (loc. cit. pp. 162-3).

Siamois

Tai Noir

Egal Supérieur

>

Descendant Inférieur (Consonnes basses: ^{sonores, liquides, nasales}).

Egal Moyen

>

Descendant Supérieur "

Siamois

Tai Blanc

Egal Moyen

>

Descendant Inférieur "

Siamois

Thô

Egal Moyen

>

Descendant Inférieur "

b. Concerning the change of tone movement in the chih tone we have no report of the phenomenon in any Chinese dictionary or records of dialects. This phenomenon is found, however, in various modern dialects.

i. Firstly besides Metropolitan Cantonese in which both shanqchiuh 上去 and shiahchiuh 下去 have become level in movement, the Seiyap sub-dialect has a similar change in

* In his article, Contribution à l'Étude du Système Phonétique des Langues Thai.

its chih tones.

- ii. Secondly, of the sixty-four subdialects of Hwubeei 湖北 investigated by members of the Academia Sinica¹, (apart from rare or occasional variants) thirty-six have the shiahchiuh 下去 pronounced in the level movement. Furthermore in the districts 漢川, 沔陽, 天門, 京山, 江陵, and 松滋, a group of subdialects in close proximity, we find that both the shangchiuh and shiahchiuh have gone over to the level movement. We may recall that as far back as chuenchiou 春秋 times (c. 5th century B.C.) Chuu 楚 (roughly present day Hwubeei) had a slight political influence over Yangyueh 揚越, namely Goangdong and its vicinity. We have no actual data regarding the connection Canton had with Chuu then and subsequently but we can observe as the result of the survey made by the Academia Sinica the similarity in this respect of tone change.
- iii. From the Tai side we can look again at the Chinese loan words of Shiangjou 象州². The present day pronunciation of the chih tone words is in a level movement.

<u>Shiangjou Tai</u>	<u>Cantonese</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
四 'sei 3	sei	four
細 'sɿ i	sai	small
氣 'hei	xei	air, vapour

1. Report on a Survey of the Dialects of Hupoh by Chao Yuenren etc. 湖北方言調查報告, Academia Sinica, Shanghai, 1948.

2. loc. cit.

3. The mark ' is for the middle level tone.

<u>Shiangjou Tai</u>	<u>Cantonese</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
快 'wai	faai	quick
見 'gen	gin	see
晾 'laŋ	lrong	spread something to dry (in the sun)
跳 'diu	tiu	jump
攞 'daŋ	dang	stool

iv. From Savina ^{Maspero} loc. cit. p. 163 we find at least one instance of a similar change of movement from a falling to a level movement, when comparing Siamese words with similar words in Dioi, a dialect spoken in ^{Goangshi} Gueyjou. ^{Siamois} Descendant > ^{Dioi} Egal moyeh (Consonnes basses, sonores, liquides, nasales)

While we observe that the pyng tones in Cantonese have gone over to a falling movement we must point out that linguistic changes could be a long process and it is possible that some speakers still keep to the original movement of that tone. Indeed among some Cantonese speakers we hear only the slightest of fall in their shanqpyng 上平 and shiahpyng 下平 as opposed to most speakers who have a definite and direct fall in both these tones. According to Mr. S.L. Wong the Tai speakers he came across all pronounced these two tones with a very definite fall.

As regards the shiahpyng 下平 I came across a graph that seems not to tally with its pitch in Metropolitan Cantonese, namely in Theodor Bröring's Laut und Ton in Süd-Schantung, Hamburg 1927, p. 58.

IV



1 = Shang Pyng

2 = Shiah Pyng

3a = Shang Shang

3b = Shiah Shang

4a = Shang Ching

4b = Shiah Ching

5a = Shang Ruh

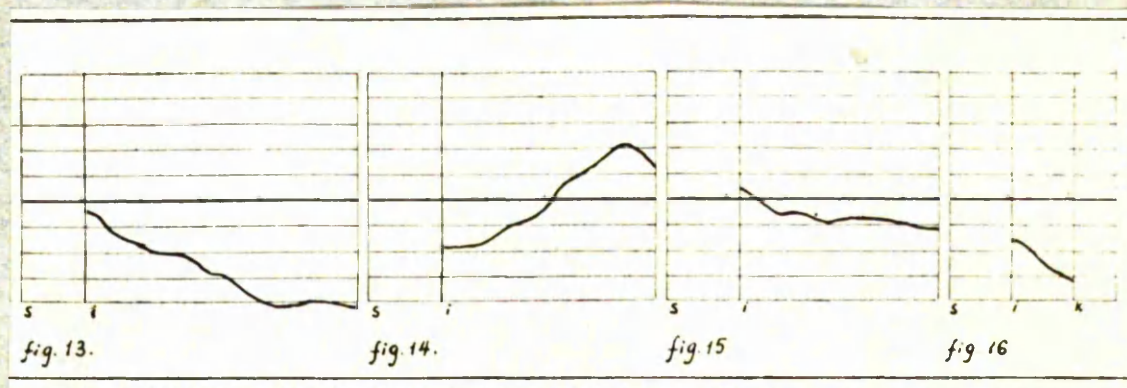
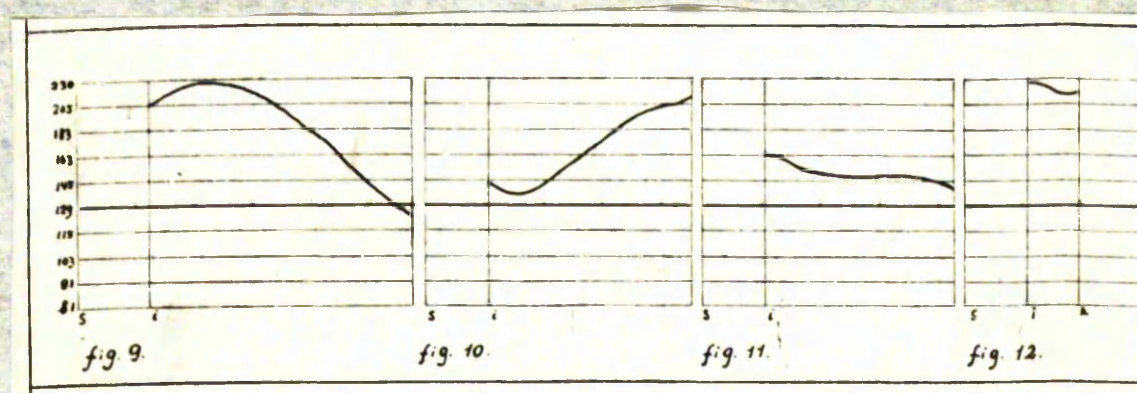
5b = ~~Jong~~ Ruh

5c = Shiah Ruh

The graph of the Shiahpyng (low falling) in this chart seems to be that of a shangchih (middle level). This was possibly enunciated by a native of the district 西潮 where the speakers pronounce the shiahpyng like a middle level, but it is certainly not a recognized pronunciation of the shiahpyng or low falling tone in Metropolitan Cantonese. The charts supplied by Liu Fu*, however, seem to give

* Fu Liu: Etude Experimentale sur les Tons du Chinois.
Planches IV. (劉復 Liou Fu)

the correct contour of pitch and movement of the basic or primary tones and one of them is reproduced below as a representative chart.

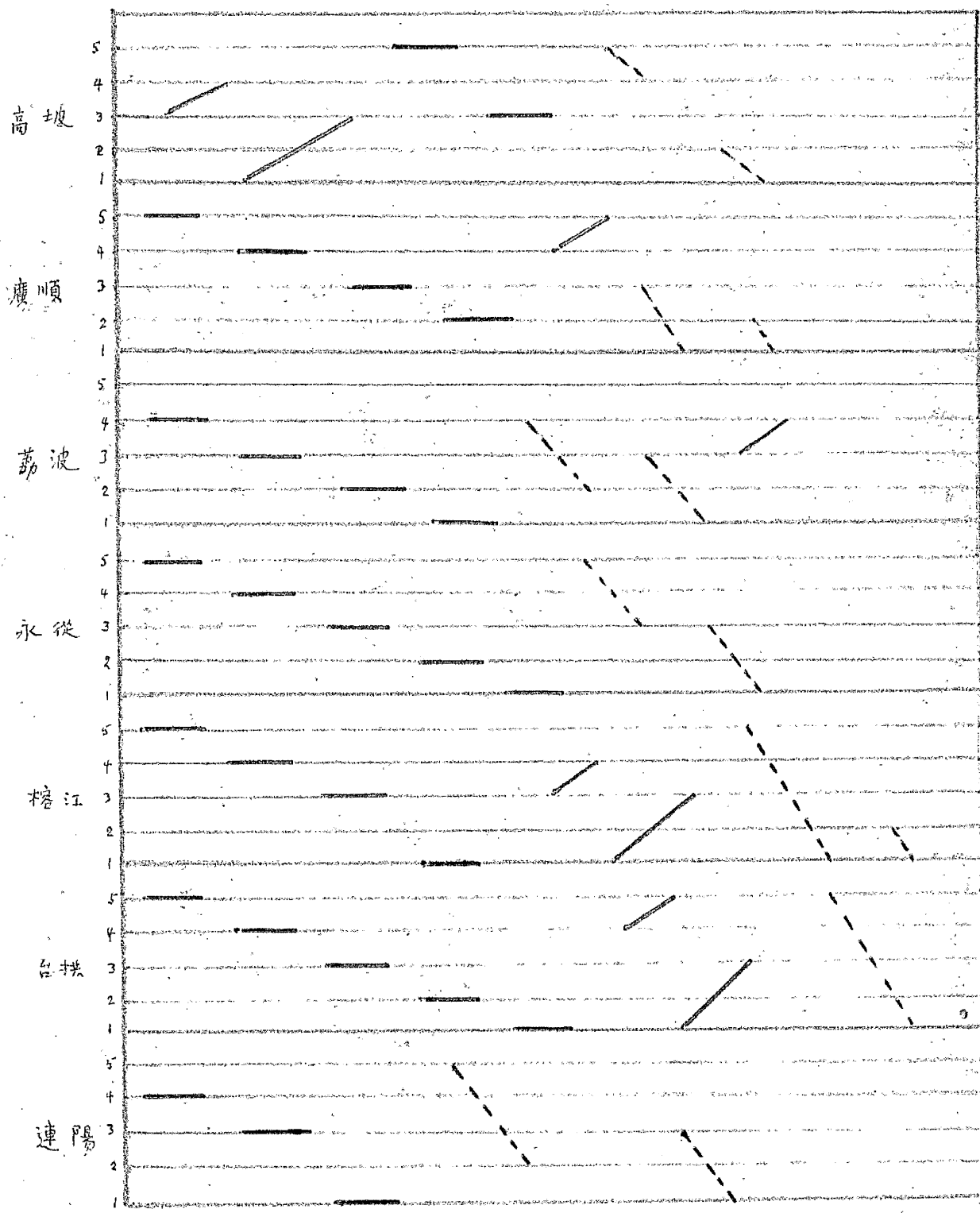


2. The Four Starting Pitches.

The large number of primary and modified tones as well as minor inflections that occur in Cantonese (see Chart III) gives it the richest tonal system among the tonal systems of Chinese dialects. This will not seem surprising if we take into account the rich tonal systems among the aboriginal dialects with which Cantonese has come into contact, or

rather, which Cantonese has replaced in the large areas of Goangdong and Goangshi. Let us look at the tonal systems of some Tai and some other southern aboriginal dialects.

VI



* The columns of tones in some of the movement series show an almost unbelievable variety of pitch, for instance ^{that} of 永從 五拱 which has its level tones in five pitches.

With the heritage of the ancient Chinese tones and the influences we may deduce from the rich tonal systems of its neighbours given above Cantonese has developed a tonal system richer or more varied than any we have come across. For comparison Parker made up a chart which is reproduced here below.

TABLE OF TONES.

	平				仄			
	平		上		去		入	
Peking,.....	1 上平	2 下平	3 上	4 去				
Hankow,.....	5 上平	6 下平	7 上	8 去			9 入	
Hakka,.....	10 上平	11 下平	12 上上	13 下上	14 上去	15 下去	16 上入	16 下入
Foochow,.....	18 上平	19 下平	20 上上	21 下上	22 上去	23 下去	24 上入	25 下入
Canton,.....	26 正上平	27 上平變音	28 正下平	29 下平變音	30 正上上	31 上上變音	32 正下上	33 下上變音
					34 正上去	35 上去變音	36 正下去	37 下去變音
							38 正上入	39 上入變音
							40 正中入	41 中入變音
								42 正下入
								43 下入變音

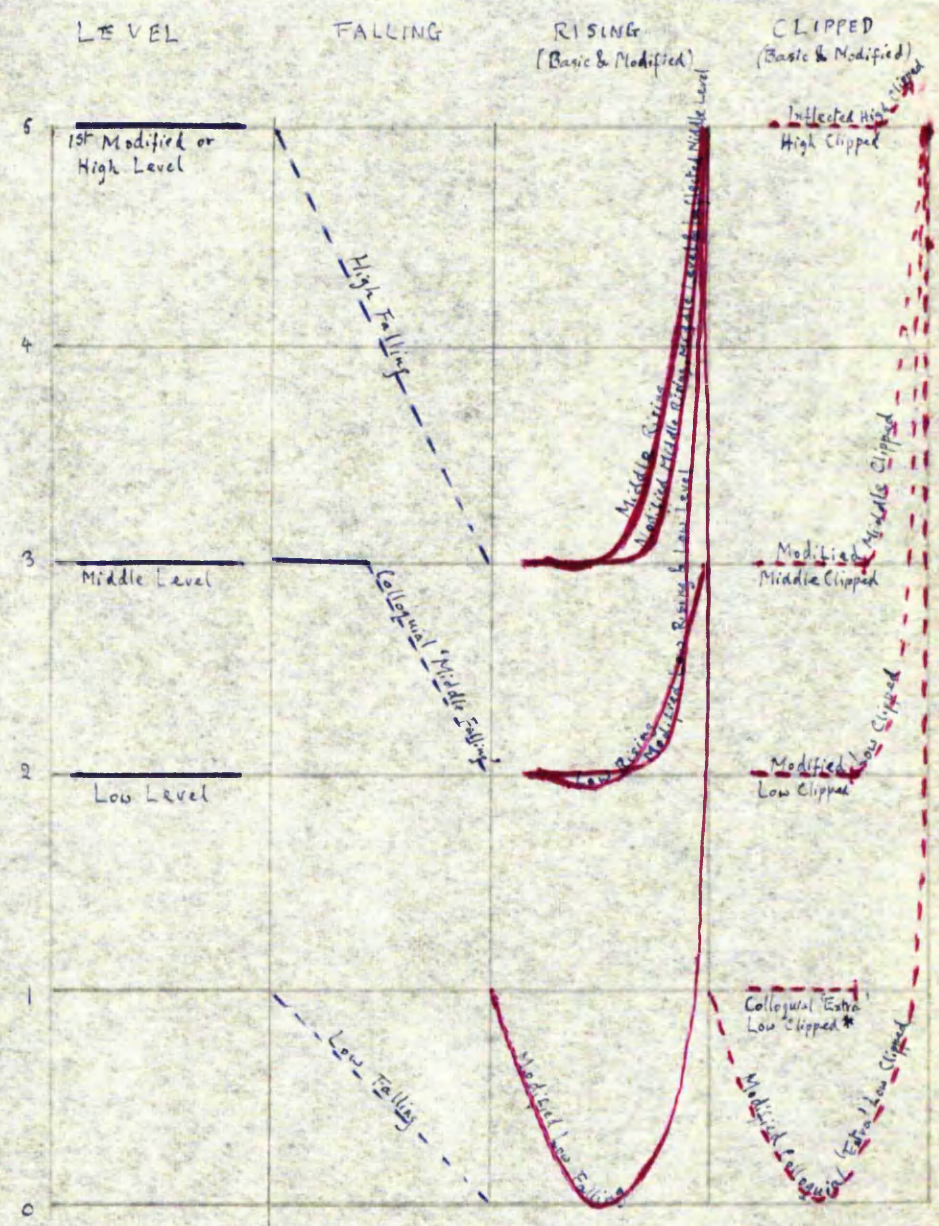
a. 5, 18, 27, 29.
 b. 6, 11, 28, 9.
 c. 7, 19, 12, 16.
 d. 8, 30, 24; and 10, 13, sometimes.†
 e. 114, 26, 38, 15, 17, 25.
 f. 20, 21, 34, 40; and 10, 13, sometimes.
 g. 23, 36, 42.
 h. 29, 37, 43, 33.‖
 i. 31, 35, 41.
 Separate; 3, 32, 1, 2, 4, 22.

* These are only used in spoken colloquial: even in colloquial, they are not noticed as of course.
 † In fact, generally. The other form is so little noticeable that M. Piton denies its existence.
 ‡ Nos. 14 and 15 are the same, but, as already shown, the aspirate keeps up the distinction.
 § Nos. 20 and 21 are precisely the same, but the Foochow people must always be aware of a theoretical distinction, because, in the 反切 system, the distinction between higher and lower series must be kept up for the other tones.
 ‖ The keenest ear may distinguish each of these, but the absence of distinction has no consequences whatever. -? -f. 42 nos: 11.

反切

Now let us turn to the series of possible Cantonese tones, primary, modified, and inflectional variations, dividing them into groups according to their movement:-


IX



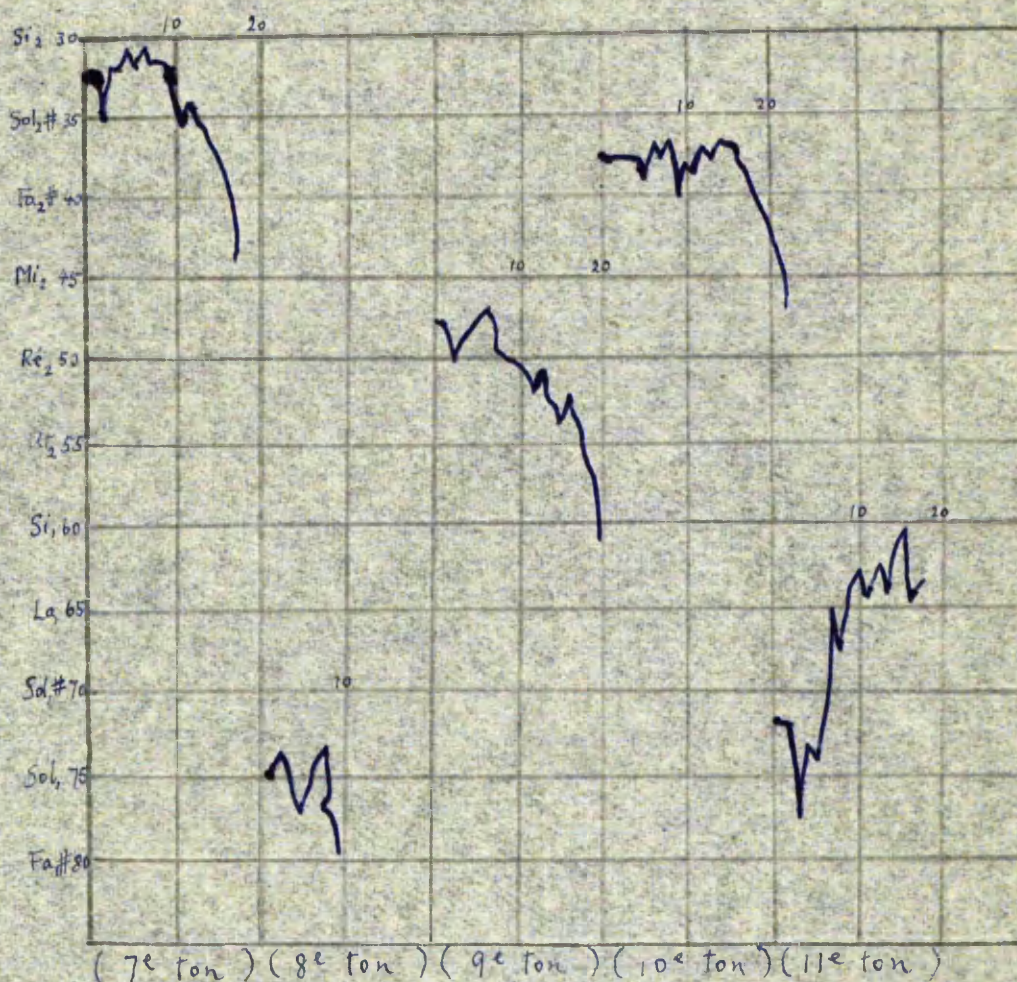
* See p.

From the above chart we see the high percentage of 'completeness' in each series of movement, with as many as four pitches being well represented by tones of spoken Cantonese. Thus for the falling movement we have 3 pitches high, middle and extra low; for the rising movement we have 6 representatives spread among the middle, low and extra low pitches; for the level movement we have 3 pitches, high, middle and low; and lastly we come to the clipped tones. We might mention here that we should distinguish between words ending in vowels or nasal consonants (m, n, ng) on the one hand and those ending in a plosive (p, t, k) on the other. In the case of words ending in a nasal consonant, part of the tone is spoken on the nasal, whereas the final plosives do not partake in the tonal movement but merely mark the end of the word. That is to say the term high clipped, middle clipped or low clipped is non-committal as to the movement which can be either level, rising or falling. In other tonal languages like Annamese and Siamese the clipped tone class is not given a separate existence today but are put by phoneticians in the class of level or rising or falling as the case may be, whereas in the general Chinese tradition phoneticians have retained the names of the clipped tones and preserved them as a separate tone class; all the same, they are non-committal as regards movements and when we think of the high clipped, middle clipped and low clipped we regard them as level in movement but shortened somewhat, as if they were abruptly

clipped away. At this point we have to add that in this category of level clipped tone there is a fourth besides the three clipped included in the basic tones, namely the extra low level clipped shown in Chart IX which is one of those tones used only colloquially. Furthermore, besides this category of level clipped which is represented by four pitches, there is another category, namely a rising clipped movement, represented by four pitches, in the high, middle, low and extra low pitches.

The first (high rising clipped) is caused by sentence intonation as mentioned above (p. 155); second and third are caused by modification of the middle and low clipped, and the fourth is caused by the modification of the extra-low clipped tone (used only in colloquial speech, as stated above). For comparison I put together the four curves from Wang Li's thesis (pp. 80 + 81) to show the four graded starting pitches of the ruh  tone in the Popei dialect, which, like Cantonese, is within the orbit of Tai influence.

X



3. Peculiar features concerning some Basic Cantonese Tones.

a. Concerning aspirate and non-aspirate initials:-

In Cantonese words with aspirate plosive initials and words with non-aspirate plosive initials seem to fall into special tone patterns. The following rules will describe the phenomenon¹.

1. See also S.L. Wong's Chinese Syllabary loc. cit. p. 58.

- (i) Low rising words with plosive or affricate initials are always aspirated.
- (ii) Low level words with plosive or affricate initials are never aspirated.
- (iii) Low falling words with plosive or affricate initials are always aspirated.
- (iv) Low clipped words with plosive or affricate initials are never aspirated.

b. Concerning the pitch of words with m, n, l and ng initials.

According to the general pattern of distribution of tones among Chinese words, those with the initials m, n, l and ng belong to the low pitch series; for instance, mraan 文, nree 你, lrei 利, ngrok 樂. But in Cantonese some of these words (with the said initials, referred to by Mr. S.L. Wong in his Syllabary loc. cit. p. 59 as 不清不濁 'neither clear [= voiceless] nor muddy [= voiced]' initials = neutral) do not behave as expected, and so we list a number of exceptions (colloquial as well as literary) to this general rule.

la 喇

laai 癩

lha 啦

lhaay 拉

lhaw 接, 嘍

lhek (or nhek) 礫, 礮, 礮, 礮

lhoh 囉 as in lhoh_ushoh

lhow 撈

lhuk 麓, 麓, 麓, 碌

lo 囉 final particle

ma 嗎

mhaahx 嗎, 女馬, 媽

mhe(a) 咩 final particle

mai 咪 (transliteration for 'mile')

mann 蚊

mhít (coll. 搥) = to pinch.

mho 媽

mhoh 摩魔

mhuunn 韻

nhe 呢 final particle

nhék 匿, 暱, 昵, 和

nhin (coll.) = breast, nipple.

nirn (coll.) 揉 = to knead, to squeeze with fingers.

nhoh 那 (surname) also to flatter or toady (coll.)

nhunq 煨

nghaam (coll.) 嚙 = correct, just right.

ngham (coll.) = tough, hard to chew.

For comparison we note that in Siamese¹ m-, n-, l-, h- which derived from hm-, hn-, hl-, hr- behave in the same way as the voiceless aspirates in the Siamese tonal development, and in the Tai dialect of 天保, ɰ- (<s-), m- (<hm-), n- (<hn-), l- (<hl-) behave in the same way as the voiceless non-aspirates. Also in Tai initial clusters

1. See Li Fang-kuei 李方桂 古台語喉塞音及帶喉塞音聲母對於制腔聲調系統之影響 published in 中國文化研究彙刊 J.4 p. 62.

such as pl-, kl- and bl-, gl- the first elements of the clusters, namely p, k and b, g, leave behind them the influence of their voicelessness or voicedness, thus l- < pl- or kl- behaves like a voiceless initial whereas l- < bl- or gl- behaves like a voiced initial. Perhaps this helps to explain why some Cantonese words of non-Chinese origin with m, n, ng, l initials belong to the higher pitch group. As for the literary words of Chinese origin, we can only remark that they are pronounced thus and that their going to the higher pitch group might have been influenced by the speech habit created by the high pitch words of non-Chinese origin which have the same nasals or liquids as initials.

c. Variant readings of tones for the purpose of distinguishing different meanings or grammatical functions are found in Cantonese. Such a 'device' is common to all Chinese dialects, but this practice is much extended in Cantonese, probably owing to its richness in tone patterns. The following are some Cantonese examples:-

brou 部 a classifier.

brouv 部 = an exercise book.

bruui 背 = to recite; also as an adjective in 'drau bruui sao' 'take back-hand' i.e. take bribe secretly.

buui 背 = back, to turn one's back upon some one (metaphorically) or something (literally).

can(ghaah) 親 (家) = a family related to one's own by marriage.

chann 親 = familiar, intimate, parent, relative.

- cramm 沉 = to sink
 zaam 沉 = to drown
- crynn 傳 = to transmit
 zryn 傳 = to record a life, to write a biography.
 zrynv 傳 = biography.
- daam 担 = a load, a pair of loads
 dhaamm 担 = to carry a load or two loads on a rod.
- drok 度 = to measure.
 drouv 度 = measurements.
- dryn 斷 (literary) = to cut apart, to snap, broken asunder.
 tryrn 斷 (colloquial) = snapped asunder.
 dyn 斷 = to decide.
- fhek as in jrenqfhek (colloquial) = rod with horse-hair for driving flies away, or as a symbol of an immortal on the stage.
 frek (colloquial) = to wave whip or flag.
- gaa 架(架) = classifier
 gaa 架 = to build up bridge, frame-work etc.
 gaav 架 = a shelf, a frame.
- gaan 間 = to place alternately, or to put something in between two things, space of time as in 'srihan' 時間 'time'.
- ghaann 間 a classifier
 ghaannx 間 = space as in 'jhat zranghaannx' 'a little while', 'zhungghaannx' 'in the middle', or 'Shaahqra-ghaannx' 卅 間 'Thirty houses (place-name)'.
- gee 幾 = several
 ghey(wruuh) 幾 (乎) = nearly, almost; also in gheyxhey 幾 希 = very few, syghey 無幾 = perhaps, probably.
- gin 見 = to see, to have seen.
 jrin 見 (literary) = to grant an interview, cerng-jrin 請見 = to ask for an interview or audience.
- gwhoh 過 (literary) = to pass, to cross, to visit.
 gwo 過 = to pass, to cross, to visit; a fault, a mistake, a guilt.
 gwov 過 = over-much, than.
- jryn 遠 (literary) = to stave off some one, to be at a distance from, to estrange oneself from.
 jryrn 遠 = far distant.

- jreong 養 (literary) = to support, to supply with the necessities of life.
 jreorng 養 = to nurture, to rear, to support.
- lhok 落 = to extract (tooth), to have tooth extracted
 Goklhoktrawv 角落頭 = corner.
- lok 落 as in jrao dryn-lok 有段落 = appropriately divided into paragraphs, sections, etc; said of a literary composition; brou lok 部落 = a tribe (of border people in China).
- lrok 落 = to descend.
- lreon 論 = a discussion, a dissertation.
 lreonn (literary) 論 = to discuss.
- lreong 量 = capacity.
 lreong 量 = to measure.
- si 試 = to try.
 srir 試 as in xaao-srir 考試 = examination, to sit for an examination.
- traann 彈 = to play (pluck string of) musical instrument.
- draan 彈 = to shoot with catapult.
 draanv 彈 = a missile.
- triw 調 = to mix as in triwmrei 調味 = to flavour, to season food; triwwroh 調和 = to harmonize to make peace between contending parties; triw-craah 調查 = to investigate.
- driu 調 = to transfer, to be transferred.
 driuv 調 = a tune.
- wraang 橫 = horizontal.
 wraang 橫 as in wraangjrir 橫議 (literary) = biassed (political) theory.
- wraang 橫 } (colloquial) = a horizontal mark, a line or
 or wrang } mark left on the skin from beating.
- xeoe 去 (literary) = to leave, to abandon a person or place.
 xeo 去 = to go.
- xhonn 看 = to watch over.
 xon 看 (literary) = to see, to look.
- xrao 厚 = thick.
 xrauv (literary) as in zhunqxrau 忠厚 = honest.
- xrou 號 = number (ordinal).
 xrow 號 = to shout or wail.

zam 枕 = to lay one's head on a pillow.

zarm 枕 = a pillow.

zheet 卒 = soldier, in the end, to die.

cyt 卒 = suddenly.

zhoy 載 (colloquial) = to hold, to carry (goods, passengers, etc.)

zoi 載 (Literary) = to hold to carry (goods, passengers, etc.)

zoe 載 = a year.

zri 治 = good order, to govern.

crih 治 (literary) = to rule over subjects.

zung 種 = plant.

zurng 種 = kind, type, race, species, seeds.

d. Variant readings of tones according to custom of usage, not for the purpose of distinguishing meanings or grammatical functions.

beak 壁 (Colloquial) }
bek " } = wall
bhek " }

baar 把 = classifier; used literarily = to hold.
bhaah as a special classifier in jhat bhaah zeornng
一把掌 = a palm, i.e. a slap, or 'daar
kreoe jhat bhaah' 'strike him a slap'.

caang (colloquial) } = eyes hurt by rays of sun.
craang " }
caang xhoy ngraarn } = to open one's eyes.
chaang (or zhang) xhoy ngraarn }
chaang 撐 = to punt (a boat)
chaang or caang = to prop up with sticks.

ceoe 娶 (colloquial) = to take a wife.
ceoi " (literary) = " " " "

crih 雉 }
zri " } = pheasant.

crinn 纏 (literary) }
zrin " (colloquial) } = to bind.

dheok 砍 (colloquial) }
deok " } = to chop
zeok " (literary) }

diu 吊 = to dangle, to hang.
 driu 吊 (colloquial) as in driudriuv feng = dangling,
 swinging to and fro.

feng (colloquial) = sway, sway as in 'driudriuv
 feng' above.

freng (colloquial) = to swing, to shake and wave about
 with force.

ghunq (colloquial) = to permeate through to one's
 nose as in ghunqbrei = going up one's nose;
 to crawl into a hole or tunnel-like thing.

gung (colloquial) = to crawl into or through a tunnel,
 to stick one's head through a hole.

giu 叫 (rural) } = to call, to shout.
 nghiw " (rural) }

grap 及 (colloquial) } = together with, and.
 gaap " (colloquial) }

jerng zhannx (colloquial) } = very much so, really, be-
 jreng zhaanx 認真 } ing conscientious in one's
 work, making real effort.

(mrh) kheanqx 驚 (colloquial) } = (not) afraid of,
 " kreaanq " } said in defiance.
 " krearng " }

lau (colloquial) } = to take notice of a person, to
 lhaw " } approach some one in order to
 invite his participation.

lau-xao (colloquial) } = to stutter.
 lrao-xao " }

leakxhoy (colloquial) } = to rip open.
 lreakxhoy " }

lhaaw 撈 } = to dredge for something, to catch some-
 lraaw " } thing out of the water.

lirm (colloquial) } = to lick with tip of tongue.
 lrirm " }

lorngxao (colloquial) } = to rinse one's mouth.
 lrorngxao " }

marngzarng (colloquial) } = irritable.
 mhangzhanq " }

miosri 藐視 } = to look scornfully at, to be scorn-
 mriosri " } ful.

mhoh 摸 } = to touch.
mor 摸

mrong 忘 } = to forget, as in 'mrong gei' or 'mronggei'
mrong 忘 = forget; 'ghay mronggei' 雞忘記 = one
of the internal organs in a chicken.

nghann 鞞 } = tough, as meat or leather is tough,
ngran 鞞 not easy to chew or snap, as in 'prey
nghann jruk ngran' 皮鞞肉鞞 = said
of a person or child who did not mind
being beaten.

nghap-sao nghap-geok giu jrann daar gea (colloquial) } =
ngrap-sao ngrap-geok giu jrann daar gea " =
wave hands wave legs inviting a beating.

sin 蹣 } = to slip, to slide, to skid, to skate.
srirn 蹣

teng 聽 (literary) = to listen; (colloquial) = to
theang 聽 (colloquial) = to listen. wait.

thoh 拖 = to drag, to tow, to lead by the hand.
troh 拖 as in trohlreoi 拖累 = to get some one into
trouble besides oneself.

tiu 跳 = to jump.
triw 跳 (colloquial) as in 'zaatzaat triw' =
wriggling, to be uneasy, fidgetting; and in
'ngraarn mrey triw' = twitching in the eyelid.

xaap 峽 } = gorge.
xraap 峽

xaap 俠 } = knight-errant.
xraap 俠

xhaw(zry) (colloquial) = to lie in wait for, to
keep an eye on.
xraw(zry) (colloquial) = to watch closely in case
another gets a better share.

zaa (or zaau) 炸 } = to fry.
zraa 炸

zeng 正 = correct, proper, straight.
zhenq 正 as in zhenqjryt 正月 = January, 1st moon,
change of tone owing to taboo for the sound
'zeng' 政 personal name of the Firest
Emperor of Chyn 秦

zhaah 摺 } = classifier for a bundle of, a handful
zraa 摺 of

zhuk 提 } = to catch.
zuk

· zit 節 } = a section, a piece of stick, sugarcane, etc.
zrit 截

zok(jrat) 昨(日) } = yesterday.
zrok(jrat)

e. Archaic features in some Cantonese tones.

A further archaic feature in the Cantonese dialect is in connection with the preservation of some old tones. As is well known, the ancient low rising (voiced rising)

下上 went over to the chiu 去 group in the tone shift which happened during the desonorization of initials in the Chinese language, and Cantonese was affected by that process as well, as stated above p. 159. But some low rising tones in Cantonese, literary reading as well as colloquial, did not go over to the chiu 去 group, as will be shown in examples below. But ^{I note specially} the character xraa 下 'underneath, to descend' like a few others, preserves the older tone in Cantonese in a compound like 'daar jhat xraar' 'strike one stroke' or 'tae xraar' 'look, or look for a moment', owing to its connection with the original tone nomenclature.

Similarly a few other words are read in the low rising tone 下上 as well as in the low level 下去 tone:-

Mid. Rising

coe 在 (rural) =
to dwell as in kreoe coe
bhin-sy? 佢在邊處
Where is he?

Low Level

zroi = in, on, at. shammbhat
zroi jrinn 心不在焉
'absent minded'.

Low Rising

croo 造 as in
Shanncroo 新造
(place name)

cror 坐 = to sit
(colloquial) as in
cerng cror 請坐 'please
take a seat'.

crurng 重 = heavy
(colloquial) as in ngrr
ghann crurng 五斤重 'five
catties of weight'.

fraarn 飯 = to feed

pruurn 伴 =
companion, as in jrao
pruurn 有伴 'to have
genial company'.

srirn* 善 = good
(colloquial) (See Cantonese
Syllabary p. 56)

traarm 淡 = not
enough salt or seasoning,
insipid.

tryrn 斷 = to break
asunder as in cit tryrn
切斷 to cut clean
through.

xraar 厦 = house
as in Sreak xraar 石厦
(place name).

Low Level

zrou = to make as in
congrou 創造 'to create'.

zro 坐 = to sit (literary) as
in zro ngro 坐卧 'to sit or
lie down'.

zrung = still, important as in
zrung jiu 重要 = important.

fraan 飯 = (cooked) rice.

bruun 伴 = companion, as in
bruun lreoe 伴侶 'companion'

srin 善 = good as in srin
gok 善惡 'good and bad'.

draam 淡 = slight, as in
draam brok 淡薄 'slight,
light, light (wine), poor.

dryn 斷 = to break, broken,
as in ngrao dryn shih lrimn
藕斷絲連 'lotus root
is cut yet fibres are not
asunder'.

xraa 厦 = house as in draai
xraa 大厦 'mansion'.

Apart from the examples above which are represented
in both the shang 上 and chih 去 class side by side, we
have a number of ancient rising tones preserved in modern
Cantonese as middle or low rising although these same words

* I have never heard srin 善 pronounced 'srirn' myself.

had gone over to the chih class in the National Language.

crir 柿 (also crih and crihv)

crir 似

crirn 踐

cryr 杜, 佇, 紵, 杼, 署, 曙

frarn 憤

fruur 婦

jraro 訪

krarn(v) 腎 (colloquial)

krao 翼 白 (also kau)

kreoe 拒, 距

lyrn 戀

pee 鄙

pree 婢

proo 抱

prorng 蚌

pruue 倍

srear 社 (also sea)

sreoe 緒, 墅 (also sreoi)

srir 市, 試 (in xao srir 考試)

srirn 鮮

trae 姊

treorn 盾

trio 窕

troe 殆

troo 肚

xrao 厚 (but xrau in zhung xrau 忠厚)

xrorn 早

Needless to say the preservation of the clipped tone is an archaic feature in Cantonese, but I am not giving examples of them as it is a known fact that Cantonese has practically preserved all the ancient clipped ㄨ tones in their own class. Among the cases of preservation of ancient tones one seems to me to be specially interesting, namely the pronunciation of 於 and 乎 which are still distinguished in Cantonese: they are 'jhyh' and 'jryh' respectively. They have become the same in tone in the National Language, namely yu.

The preservation of such minor distinction seems to me to show once again the conservative tendency of the Cantonese dialect.

Chapter V.

The Cantonese Modified Tones.

A. A Critical Survey of Notes and Remarks on the Modified Tones by Western and Chinese authors.

Besides the four pitches and the complete interchange of the level and falling movements in Cantonese and other peculiarities, another tonal feature, called by some the 'variant tones' (herein called 'modified tones') must be mentioned. There are certain words in certain tone patterns which must be pronounced in a different tone pattern when spoken colloquially. I am referring to what I call the First Modified Tones, most of which are to be observed in words which according to their entry in the dictionary should have 'high falling tones' but which do not fall when they are used colloquially in a specific way and under certain other circumstances, and the Second Modified Tones which can be observed in words which according to the dictionary should have middle or low pitch but which have a rising movement to the top pitch when they are used colloquially in circumstances similar to those to be indicated in the case of the First Modified Tones. This strange phenomenon is not found in other Chinese dialects except one (the Popei 博白 dialect of Goangshi 廣西). In the National Language and some other dialects there is no neutralization of tones in compounds, but there is nothing

like the deliberate modification of tones which occurs in Cantonese.

Now let us look at this peculiar feature, the modification of tones which operates still in the Cantonese dialect today on new words or compounds formed including any new transliterations from foreign languages. We can either look at this modification from the present day angle as, for example, when we state that the dictionary reading of the word for 'cup' a familiar object for daily use, is 'bhuuy' (杯), a high falling tone; but when a Cantonese speaker says 'a cup' he will enunciate the phrase thus: 'jhat zeak bhuuyx' (一隻杯), where the word for 'cup' becomes a high level tone, and so we say 'Here is a modification from high falling to high level' (hereafter called the First Modified Tone), but we might also start from the past and say 'Bhuuy' 'cup' was originally a high level tone and it has been kept so in the spoken language being as it were a remnant showing the refusal of words which are names of familiar objects in daily use, to shift over to the falling movement in spite of a general tendency to do so. These 'familiar' words we might infer, were more protected by oral tradition from the change which took toll of other words of the same tone pattern. This second theory however lands us in difficulties as soon as we consider words for familiar objects which belong to the middle or lower pitches, because they all take a rising sweep when spoken, and we have to look for a theory that can answer for both the First

and the Second kind of modification.

Now let us review what has been said of this phenomenon in spoken Cantonese. Among students of Chinese dialects E.H. Parker seems to have studied the tones of each dialect more keenly than most. In Cantonese he not only investigated the theoretical tones but also compared carefully the tones as they were spoken in actual speech with the theoretical ones and described them as they sounded to his ear. It seems that the existence of the modified tones in spoken Cantonese, (what Parker noted as an extra level tone and extra rising tones) was not fully recognized or described by earlier writers, and at any rate no satisfactory reasons have been given for their existence.

The modified tones are referred to under various names, such as 'variable sounds', 'changed tones', 'Medial Even and Third Rising'; 'Uppermost Even'; 'Upper Even and Long Rising' and 'Pinn'iam'. As I said, in this thesis they are called the First and the Second Modified Tones.

Eitel in the introduction to his Dictionary¹ said with reference to the First Modified Tone:

(1) 'It would seem as if there was at present rising into existence a third even tone nearly midway in pitch between the upper even tone (上平) and the lower even tone (下平) and which therefore may be called the Medial even tone (中平). It is somewhat nearer in pitch to the upper even tone than the lower, and seems to differ from the other two even tones also by a certain quickness and jerkiness of enunciation.'

1. A Chinese-English Dictionary in the Cantonese Dialect by E.J. Eitel, revised and enlarged by I.G. Genähr, Hongkong, 1910, p. xii.

As pointed out above (IV p. 143) Eitel mistakenly supposed the 1st Modified Tone to be lower than the high falling (上平), but he is correct when he says that it is nearer in pitch to the upper even tone (上平) than to the lower (下平). The difference (i.e. 'a certain quickness and jerkiness of enunciation') which he noted in this as compared with the high falling (上平) and low falling (下平) tones is probably the difference of movement his ear registered - that the First Modified Tone has a movement nearer to that of the present day chih 去 tone (level) than that of the present day pyng 平 tone (falling), but its close relation with the present day shanqpyng 上平 makes it difficult to distinguish clearly what real movement it has, and one tends to assume that its movement ought to be that of the 1st Tone-Class, namely pyng.

Dyer Ball (Cantonese Made Easy and Vocabulary).





Introduction p. XXV) took the same view as Eitel. After giving examples of intonation in English speech to illustrate the shanqpyng 上平 he says,

"There is however a second Upper Even Tone into which words are put. This second or 中平 chung p'ing, Medial Upper Even Tone, is found in the following words for example: 貓 mau, a cat, and 鎗 ts'öng, a gun.

'It partakes of the nature of a slight shriek', differing not only in musical pitch (being nearer to the 上平, Upper Even Tone, in that respect than to the 下平, Lower Even Tone) from the other two Even Tones, but also in the manner of its pronunciation, it having 'a certain quickness of jerkiness of pronunciation' - Parker in Overland China Mail."

But in his Readings in Cantonese Colloquial, Introduction xix¹, Dyer Ball calls this 1st Modified Tone by a different name i.e. the shangshang pyng 上上平, saying that it is a 'most important tone, we shall call it the 上上平 shōng shōng p'ing, or higher upper even tone. It is a misnomer to call it a 中平 chung p'ing, or medial even, tone as it is higher in pitch than the ordinary shōng p'ing, or upper even, tone."

Professor Daniel Jones considered this to be a variant of the shangpyng 上平, saying².

"Of the two forms of the 1st Tone the level  is by far the commoner. The falling  is, however, the normal form at the end of a group, or when a word with the 1st Tone is pronounced by itself. In some cases the level  appears to be necessary at the end of a group instead of the falling ".

Without numerous examples Professor Jones could not have gone further into the reasons of this variation he noticed. He did not, however, make any reference to the Second Modified Tones.

Professor Y.R. Chao says³ that the 1st Pinn'iam (1st Modified Tone) is "almost always high level (55:)" and he distinguishes it from the 2nd Pinn'iam (2nd Modified Tone) by saying that the 2nd is almost always long rising (25:). Thus he almost reduces all the Second Modified Tones to the one starting pitch.

1. Hongkong 1894.

2. Jones and Woo. A Cantonese Phonetic Reader, London, 1912 p. XV.

3. In his Cantonese Primer, Harvard University Press, 1947. Introduction p. 34.

As regards the 2nd Modified Tones Eitel cites Parker's observation¹ and says,

"In addition to this medial even tone [i.e. 1st Modified Tone], the existence of which is not yet generally recognized by students of the Cantonese dialect, Professor E.H. Parker has pointed out (China Review, Vol. 8, p. 366) two other 'variable sounds' (變音) as he aptly calls them, viz. a third rising tone and a fourth entering tone [i.e. clipped tone]. The Third rising tone he describes as beginning deeper than the lower rising tone (一下上聲) but ending higher than the upper rising tone (上上聲). As regards the 4th entering tone, he says that it bears the same analogy to the 3rd rising tone as the upper entering (上入聲) does to the upper even tone (上平聲), being on the same level with regard to pitch.

The discovery of these two variable sounds is, as far as I know entirely due to Professor Parker. The subject requires further elucidation however, especially as regards the anomaly of the 4th entering tone, which has no parallel in the tonal history of the whole language. As to the third rising tone [i.e. 2nd Modified Tones] pointed out by Professor Parker, I have no doubt of its existence, but whether it is an actual subdivision of the 2nd tone-class, or merely a modulation through arbitrary emphasis applicable to all tones indiscriminately, I cannot tell. Professor Parker's own remark that 'familiar words, generally nouns in the lower departing tone, [下去 low level] often in the lower even tone, [下平 low falling] occasionally in the upper departing tone [上去 middle level] seldom in the two rising tones, [上上 middle rising and 下上 low rising] but never in the upper even tone, [上平 high falling] have a tendency in conversation only to lapse into this tone at the end of a sentence' suggests the possibility of this distinction being more a matter of emphasis, accent or cadence than an actual subdivision of the second tone-class."

Thus Eitel dismissed these modified tones without further investigation.

Parker's observations were correct. Although he did

1. Eitel. Chinese-English Dictionary, revised ed. p. xii.

not state it explicitly, it stands to reason that the shanqpyng 上平 never becomes his 'third rising tone' [2nd Modified] as it has a high starting pitch, and to become this special tone it would have to be drawn down and be given a lower starting pitch.

Father O'Melia's observation on Variant Tones¹ touches on one aspect of modification, that of compensatory modification (See V C. pp 224 - 231). He says 'Many common words and phrases are given a sliding pronunciation differing from the dictionary standard. We call these "variant tones". The real tone of the word is first given, though barely touched, after which the voice sails off like a kite, often sounding exactly as though it were an upper rising tone, and sometimes rising higher than the upper rising, e.g. 'noi' [noi] in the expression 'kei noi*?' 'How long?' Have your teacher say: 你去幾耐 'Nei hui kei noi*?' 'How long will you be gone?' In this case one might say the variant tone is the result of the contraction of 'noi ni?' into 'noi*', or rather, that the variant compensates for the omission of the particle 'ni''.

What is said above is a logical explanation, that a high pitch word (in this case an interrogative particle) makes its absence felt by raising the pitch of the preceding word, making it a rising tone though the interrogative particle itself has been dropped. But O'Melia left out the more important function of the modified tones^{with} which I shall deal ~~with~~ in V B.

1. First Year Cantonese by T.A. O'Melia, Hongkong, 1939, n. XXIII.

On this question of modified tones or pinn'iam, as he calls them, Professor Y.R. Chao writes¹:-

"From the point of view of factual description, the two pinn'iam are really two additional independent tones, occurring with all types of syllables. But for practical purposes, it is more convenient to associate every word having a pinn'iam with another word having one of the other tones. There are several reasons for this treatment. One is that, in most cases, a word having a pinn'iam is derived from a word having another tone. Thus dhoai* [troyv] (25:) 'table' is derived from dhoai [troy] (21:) 'terrace, stage'. Another reason is that while ordinary tones are not associated with any meaning in particular, any more than are sounds like p, a, s, l, the pinn'iam on the other hand has a morphological meaning, namely, 'that familiar thing (or person, less frequently action) one often speaks of'."

Then he adds²

in 2/
Neish
Non
Nol
"We have already spoken of the meaning of pinn'iam as being 'that familiar thing one often speaks of'. This can only be regarded as a convenient summary of a variety of similar meanings. The meaning of pinn'iam is really very similar to that of the retroflex suffix -r in Mandarin. For example, Cantonese woang [wronq] 'yellow': woang* [wronqv] 'yolk' corresponds to Mandarin huang 'yellow': huangr 'yolk'...."

Professor Chao did not, however, consider modified tones that occur in words other than nouns, namely in verbs, adjectives or their equivalent, adverbs or their equivalent, interrogative statements, particles, familiar sayings and so on.

However, he has a few remarks that seem to indicate his extending the pinn'iam to something other than nouns:

-
1. Cantonese Primer p. 34.
 2. loc. cit. p. 35.

"Words in the Upper Rising Tone [middle rising] never have a corresponding form with pinn'iam, probably because of the great similarity between this tone (35:) and the pinn'iam (25:). In fact, a number of cases of the Upper Rising Tone are really the pinn'iam form of some other tone. Thus *kox* [gor] 'that' is really the pinn'iam of *koh* [go], the general auxiliary noun. The form *kamx* [garm] 'so' (in this manner) is simply the pinn'iam of *kamm* [gam] 'so' (to this extent). In such cases, the pitch range of the pinn'iam form has been shortened and the result is an actual Upper Rising Tone [middle rising]."

Dyer Ball calls the 2nd Modified Tone 上聲變音 or Third Rising Tone, and says that it

"differs from all the other tones in this that every word that is used in this tone belongs originally to another tone and is generally likewise used in this other tone as well. Nearly all the tones contribute words which are occasionally, or often, as the case may be, used in this Third Rising Tone."

His observations about the modification are similar to those of Parker, and he continues:

"It is a little misleading to say this Third Rising Tone is adopted when a word ends a sentence. It does undoubtedly do so at times, but the following rules will generally describe their use.

The Third Rising Tone is used when the word stands alone but when it is used in combination it takes its original tone, as: 渡 ^{tò} [drouv] but when used with 船, a boat, it reverts to its original tone, as: 渡船 ^{tò} shuen [drou-srynn], a passage boat."

It would be more correct, however, to say that the modified tone is used when the speaker is thinking of a particular passage boat, an individual passage boat as distinguished from the class of passage boat 渡船, the general name given to that type of boat collectively, that is to say the relation between the modified noun and the unmodified ^{noun, and between the modified adjective and unmodified} adjective is that between an individual object

and its class and between a special attribute and a general attribute. In short the common denomination of this kind of modification, the most general kind, is the specializing or singling out from a group. For instance

人 'jrann' 'man' (general); 小人 'siojrannv' 'a small man, a mean person' (particular): 白 'braak' 'white' (General adjective); 花白 'fhaah braakv' 'grey colour of grey hair or whiskers' (particular adjective).

The individual object (person, animal or thing) is naturally the 'familiar' image, the particular object, in one's mind as compared with the general name, the universal, the class to which the object belongs. As soon as a particular object or attribute is singled out from its class, we may think of it as familiar and it is likely to have taken the modification.

Therefore modification functions in words which are names of familiar persons or things, things singled out from their general class, and it is also capable sometimes of expressing the various emotions of familiarity or various attitudes in the mind of the speaker.

Further Dyer Ball observed that the Third Rising Tone is also used as a sign of past time - of an action being accomplished, as:

叶 佢 嚟	[giu kreoe lray] 'tell him to come'
嚟 咯	[lrayv lok] 'he has come'
佢 嚟 囉 咩	[kreoe lrayv lomhea?] 'He has come, has he?'
嚟 咯	[lrayv lok] 'Yes, (he has come)'.

Here Dyer Ball like Father O'Melia noted the modification in the verb 'to come' when used in the perfect tense, but he did not give the reason for such a change. (See V C).

Among works written on the variant tones in Cantonese, there are two more detailed than the attempts surveyed above. The first is the article 'Rules for the use of Variant Tones in Cantonese' by K. H. Ch'an Chan Seng with an introduction by J. Dyer Ball (The China Review Vol. XXIV pp. 209-226) and the second, 'A Chinese Syllabary pronounced according to the Dialect of Canton' by S.L. Wong, B.A. Chung Hwa Book Co. Ltd. Shanghai, 1941 p. 34-52.

In the introduction to Mr. Ch'an's article, p. 211 (a), Dyer Ball mentions "Mr. Parker (China Review, Vol. 8, p. 366) whose word is law on the matter of Chinese tones. He says 'besides the nine regular Cantonese tones, there are, in short, nine corresponding variable tones'". Further on Dyer Ball continues to give an interesting description regarding these tones p. 211b.

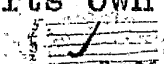
"Though, however, each of the nine tones has a variant tone, yet their classification is apparently capable of simplification, as the variant of the upper retiring tone (Mr. Chan's middle retiring) [ML]¹ and of the middle entering tone [MC] are the same; again that of the upper rising [MR] is nearly the same, the voice lingering longer however on the tone

1. The capitals in this section are abbreviations for the names of tones: thus HF = high falling; HC = high clipped; ML = middle level; MR = middle rising; MC = middle clipped; LL = low level; LR = low rising; LF = low falling; LC = low clipped.

at the end. Once more one tone serves equally well as the variant of the lower retiring [LL] and the lower entering tones; this tone one would feel inclined to describe as smooth in its progress upwards. Again the variant for the lower rising¹ is almost similar to it, but its distinctive feature lies in more emphasis being thrown into its pronunciation, especially in its inception and first rising; for the voice seems to seize on it with avidity, lingering on it, and a crescendo effect comes in, in its middle course, dying away towards its end. Then though the variant of the upper even [HF] and the upper entering [HC] tone are very much alike, there is a difference between them, the latter is lengthened in its pronunciation and not abrupt as the former, the voice lingers on it and gives emphasis to it with almost, if not quite, a crescendo effect. Of all these variants, the one which appeals most to the learner is the variant of the lower even [LF]: it is so marked and distinctive in its character that it has hitherto well nigh monopolised the attention and taken the other variant rising tones under its own name, or at all events the distinction between these five or more rising variant tones has not been pointed out or clearly defined and they have all been considered by many as one and the same tone. It will be noticed that this has a distinct fall and a long rise, in fact being the most prolonged of any of the rising tones, and much emphasis is thrown into the voice on its recovery from the fall, increasing in its volume as it rises into a good crescendo and dying away at the end again. It is a tone that is bound to force itself on the attention of the hearer who has the slightest acuteness of ear for tones."

This is followed by Mr. Ch'an's examples of the modified tones, showing how modification could occur in any of the basic tones.

In the other work in connection with the modified

1. Here Dyer Ball seems to have forgotten to give the middle and lower rising tones their due descriptions. For his 'lower' here it should read 'upper', according to his nomenclature. In this thesis we refer to upper rising as middle rising. The variant tone which he calls lower rising (our low rising) therefore remains to be described. We may say that when it is modified it has its own starting pitch but soars up to the highest pitch () thus it is like the modified Middle Rising and Middle Rising, but it has a longer rise from a slightly lower pitch.

tones, namely in his syllabary of the Cantonese dialect, ^{p 34}
 Mr. Wong goes a step further as he furnishes us with 4
 chief reasons for their modification.

- (a) For euphonic reasons. 於諧聲有關
- (b) To distinguish the meaning. 於意義有關
- (c) In connection with transliteration of words from
 Western languages. 於西文譯音有關
- (d) In connection with common usage. 於習慣有關

He excludes however the question of modification owing to
 emotional stress or colouring, sentence intonation, etc.,
 saying that this is a phenomenon common to all languages.

Mr. Wong supplies us with ample examples for the
 study of these variant tones. Let us look at the types
 he enumerates.

(a) For euphonic reasons he gives a series of examples of
 common words (nouns) such as

bhuu^uyx = cup

cheonnⁿthiⁿnx (Mr. Wong did not indicate that the
 high level of 'cheonn' here is caused by
 tone-sandhi rather than modification) =
 spring.

jhi^hshan^qx (Mr. Wong did not indicate here that the
 high level of 'jhih' here is caused by
 tone-sandhi rather than modification) =
 doctor.

shi^hx = poem.

The reason given as being euphonic is too vague and
 so is not a useful guide for deciding on rules for
 modification. Also his rule for pronouncing the 2nd
 Modified tone is 比高上調似乎還略高些 (a little more
 emphatic than 高上 (middle rising) is not an accurate

description.¹

(b) To distinguish the meanings.

(i) To denote the perfect tense.

我來喇 [ngror lrayv la] I have arrived.

(ii) To denote intensity.

紅₂咁 [xrungxrungv dreiv] rather red

紅₂ [xrungv xrung] very red

(iii) To denote smallness, secondary position, or
ridicule.

大門 [draai mruunn] but 橫門 (side door) and
have 門 modified i.e. [mruunnv]

(iv) To denote degree of size.

The word 大 draai (big, large) has 3 different meanings. In its original tone 咁大 gam draai = so big; when modified to a rising movement gam draaiv = only so big; modified to the high level tone gam draaix = so small, how very small! Here Mr. Wong shows the force of the diminutive succeeding in changing the meaning of 'big' to its opposite. He observes the phenomenon clearly without giving a reason for its being so.

(c) In connection with transliteration of words from Western languages.

Mr. Wong ascribes the reason for this kind of modification to the tendency in Chinese readers to imitate

1. Cantonese Primer p. 36.

the foreign sounds. Indeed Cantonese speakers must imagine foreign sounds always spoken in a high pitch, as European languages must sound strange to the ear accustomed to the rhythm of a tonal language. Mr. Wong's examples are

打 (dozen) [dhaa]; 咪 (mile) [mhail]; 仙
(cent) [shinnx].

(d) In connection with common usage.

He also observes that broadly speaking the previous reasons are connected with common usage as well, and he gives here examples of place names which became modified only through long usage.

河南 Xrohnrammv (a place south of Canton) whereas
Xrohnraammis the name of the
province of Honan.

河南 Xrohnraammv (also the name of a boat plying
between Hongkong and Canton).

中華 Zhunqwraahv (name of a bookshop) whereas in
Zhunqwraah Mraangwok (The Chinese
Republic) wraah is not modified.

After this survey of the history of the study of the variant or modified tones, we can proceed to a further study of the reasons for their modification.

B. The Origin of the Modified Tones - Omission of the diminutive suffix 'jrihx'. ^{2/3} *prv*

1. Theory of the Origin of the Modified Tones.

Professor Simon suggests that these tone modifications have arisen in lieu of an original suffix *ㄟ* which plays such a large part in Northern dialects rivalling

with the other diminutive suffix 子 . He points out that such sound modifications may be the Cantonese counterpart of the cerebralisation which can be found in lieu of ㄅ in Shantung dialects and the nasalisation which is to be observed in the Popei Dialect*.

Professor Simon thinks that the tonal change may have started with words ending in -i or in a diphthong which has i as its last vowel. Furthermore he assumes that this diminutive suffix was pronounced as a high level tone 'jrihx' not as the present day low falling 'jrih' which has the meaning 'son'. This high level pronunciation can be found at present in Cantonese in two words, viz.

mraawxjrihx 貓兒 = cat, kitten.

xhatjrihx 乞兒 = beggar.

Besides 兒 another diminutive suffix 'zir' 子 meaning 'child, son' is also pronounced in the high pitch in the compound

mrannxzirx 蚊子 = mosquito

Whether 兒 and 子 were high pitch words or not in ancient times cannot be immediately ascertained but we are sure of their high pitch in their diminutive function in the examples above up to the present time and it is not unreasonable to believe that these diminutives have always been high pitch words. As it happens, this theory can be

* See Walter Simon: Review of Wang Li's Une prononciation chinoise de Po-Pei in the Orientalistische Literaturzeitung 1935 no. 5 vol. 334. For further details see pp. 220-222

further substantiated by the preservation of the suffix Jrihx 兒 to a much greater extent among some speakers of the Cantonese dialect in the Goangshi Province than speakers of the Metropolitan dialect in Goangdong.

Mr. D.C. Lau, when passing through the districts in the vicinity of Gueypyng 桂平, Wujou 梧州 and Liujou 柳州 during the time of Japanese occupation of Canton, came across Cantonese speaking people in all these areas, as indeed all along the West River. But there was a 'peculiar' habit among the speakers in the districts in the neighbourhood of Gueypyng 桂平 which Mr. Lau noticed, namely the habit of employing the suffix 'jrihx' after all sorts of nouns. After a while he and others acquired this habit in their turn and called his uncle Shukjrihx 叔兒, i.e. Little Uncle, instead of the normal name of address A Shuk 亞叔. This phenomenon seems to provide us with a glimpse of the stage of the modification when the nouns have not yet incorporated the high pitch suffix into their tones. For high falling tones to be contiguous with such a suffix, the immediate result is very similar to the only case of tone-sandhi in Cantonese we meet with today, for example fheyghey the first element in the high falling tone is prevented from falling by the high starting pitch in the second. Similarly all the names of familiar persons or things in the high falling tone spoken in the Gueypyng 桂平

vicinity would have resulted in this form of tone-sandhi owing to the contiguity of the suffix 'jrihx', irrespective of whether such nouns were originally high level or high falling. It is, however, feasible to suppose that the pyng tone was originally level, and that these familiar nouns retained their level movement through their contiguity with this suffix. In the case of such familiar nouns in Metropolitan Cantonese we witness the further development - the stage in which the suffix jrihx had been incorporated with the tone of these nouns, resulting in the case of nouns in the high falling category, in the First Modified Tones. If we take the high falling word bhuuy (cup) + jrihx (or bhuui + jrihx as the case may be) the final -i of bhuuy (or final -i of bhuui) amalgamates with 'jrihx' and 'bhuuyx' is the result, with a dwelling on the final -i, long, high, and level. From such high falling words with a final -i it is easy to see how the contraction of 'jrihx' could have happened and how compensation for this contraction resulted in a lengthening of the final -i. By analogy with such words, other high falling words not ending in -i would have been similarly modified, namely maintained long, high and level; for example, 花 'fhaahx' 'flower'.

Applying this theory of a high pitch suffix, we can proceed to examine how it works in the case of the second kind of modification mentioned above (See V A p. 191), namely the pronouncing of middle or low pitch words

✓ (names of familiar objects, etc.) with a rising sweep. If we take the case of a low falling tone lrey 狸 (a kind of wild cat, a fox) + jrihx 兒 the final -i of lrey and jrihx amalgamates and the compensation for this amalgamation results in 'lreyv', i.e. the low falling tone follows its own original tone for a space of time and then is drawn up, as it were, by the high pitch of 'jrihx' and the two finally became one long rising sweep, the second element of the compound having been elided and incorporated into the first. This final form is an example of the Second Modified Tones. From words ending in -i it is easy to see how the amalgamation happened and by analogy words not ending in -i are similarly drawn up. Since we can extend this theory of the composition of the Second Modified Tone equally to any low or middle pitch words, we can thus say that each Second Modified Tone begins (in theory at least) from the starting pitch of the original word, dwells for a space of time in its own movement and then rises to the high pitch to which the suffix 'jrihx' belongs. Thus, for example a Second Modified Tone originating from a shiahpyng 下平 (low falling) begins from a pitch lower than one originating from a shiahchiuh 下去 (low level). But since it would be wrong to assume that speakers are always meticulously correct and exact in their enunciation of pitch and length of tones, we cannot expect that it would always be possible to detect

the fine distinction between some Second Modified Tones (especially those originating from a middle pitch) and the middle rising tone which can be described as 35:

2. Primary and Secondary Modification.

The theory above accounts for the arising of the modified tones and the first stage of its development, viz. high ^{pitch} level is kept high and lower pitch tones are drawn up. A survey of the modifications as they occur in present day Cantonese make, however, a further distinction necessary. In quite a number of words we observe what I would like to call 'secondary modification', i.e. we observe more than ~~one~~ modified tones in the case of certain words. A few examples will make that clear.

dhigamnroiv (primary modification) = a little while

dhigamnroix (secondary modification) = a very little while.

mroo-gee-jryrnv (primary modification) = not very far

mroo-gee-jryrnx (secondary modification) = actually very near.

In view of the fact that some tones other than the shanqpyng are pronounced high level, i.e. in the 1st Modified Tone, Mr. K.M.A. Barnett rightly objects¹ to the First Modified Tone being called 'Upper even pinn'iam' by Professor Y.R. Chao (= Variant tone of the Shanqpyng) he says -

1. In his article "A Transcription for Cantonese: Notes on Mr. Yuan Ren Chao's 'Cantonese Primer'," BSOAS, Vol. XIII Pt. 3, 1950, p.

↙ "It is open to question to describe the 55: tone as 'Upper even pinn'iam', for this remarkable tone seems to have borrowed from all the others. Thus we have

tseung° [cheonqx] 'gun' derived from tseung [cheonq] 'spear' 槍, 鎗

cheung° [creonqx] 'very short' derived from jheung [creonq] 'long' 長

ian° [jrannx] in 'iatkoh-ian' [jhatgo jrannx] 'all alone' derived from yan [jrann] 'man' 人

✓ ka° [gaarx] in 'cahka-i°' [zaagaarxjix] 'to pretend' derived from kax [gaar] 'false' 詐假意

i° [jix] in the same 'meaning' [意] ih [ji]

mhui° [mruuix] 'little girl' (in derogatory sense) [slave-girl] derived from muy* [mruuiv] 'younger sister' 妹

taai° [draaix] 'tiny' derived from daay [draai] 'big' 大

and numerous other examples where the tone of the underlying word is other than 'upper even'."

My observation in connection with the words above is that most of them are closely connected with a diminutive connotation, similar to my examples 'mraawxjrihx' 'cat, kitten' and 'mrannxzirx' 'mosquito' given above. It may actually be said that the Cantonese dialect uses the high pitch tone for expressing the diminutive connotation (See also pp 215-216). All the examples in the list above other than the first, which is a high falling and in which the diminutive meaning is doubtful, are derived from words of a lower pitch than the highest but they are all pronounced in the high level tone, namely First Modified Tone. Their meanings are all connected with the diminutive and they are pronounced in such a high pitch by analogy

with other high pitch familiar words. The diminutive force is so strong that it overrides other normal developments of such derivation. Thus going back to the examples four of them are capable of both 2nd and 1st modification.

One might say the primary modification of the word 'creonq' ^長 meaning 'long' is a second modified tone, as in 'gee creonqv' = how long? whereas 'gam creonqx zhea' = 'only so short', has the opposite meaning of 'long' altogether. It is what I would call the secondary modification.


Similarly the word draai ^大 in 'gee draaiv' = 'how big?' or 'how old (is a person)?'; 'dhek gam draaix' = 'very tiny'.

In jhat go jrann, one could say 'jhat go jrannv' = alone, by oneself; 'jhatgo jrannx' = all alone, with more emphasis. mruui ^女 'sister', is the correct pronunciation for the dictionary or for a general term but it is a second modified tone in colloquial speech: 'mruuiv' = younger sister. When it goes further in modification it is pronounced in the 1st modified tone 'mruuix' = maid or slave girl, with a diminutive and derogatory connotation.

3. Modification of the Clipped Tones

A word about the modification of the clipped tones. ~~New~~ The clipped tones occur in the high pitch as well as in the lower pitches. In the case of the middle and low clipped their modified forms follow the same path as the middle level modified and low level modified except that

these are clipped at the end, since these two clipped tones correspond in pitch and movement to the middle and low level tones respectively.

But the high clipped is already high, so that the suffix 'jrihx' cannot raise it still higher than its original pitch, all the same the high clipped is occasionally lengthened and caused to glide up a little as in the last word of a question like 'Mrh-thunqx ngror nree dhou mrh shek  ?' (Do you mean to say that you don't know me?). This is a very special case connected with emphasis and sentence intonation (see Chart III, p. 144). A familiar word like 'bhat' (= pen, writing brush) may occasionally be pronounced with an extra high pitch and perhaps a slightly longer duration for emphasis, but it is not a common practice to pronounce this word in a pitch higher than that of the basic high clipped.

4. Functions of the Modified Tones.

From the few examples mentioned above, it appears that the chief function of the modification of tones is very similar to a phenomenon that can be observed in present day English. I should like to quote from G. Stern's Meaning and Change of Meaning, Goteborg, 1931, p. 256 who speaks of "shortened expressions" or "clippings", which are "very often intended to make the words express sympathy or endearment towards the persons addressed; nursery speech abounds in nighties, tootsies, etc. and clippings of

proper names, transforming them into pet names, are often due to a similar desire for emotive effects". In Cantonese this emotive effect is signified by the modification of tones, i.e. incorporating the suffix 'jrihx'. But as will be explained later (V C) the use of the modified tones in Cantonese has a wider scope than "clippings" like nighties and tootsies because it includes the function of compensating for the omission or loss of a following word, and therefore at times a modified tone word may have nothing to do with the diminutive connotation or emotive effects. Summing up the function of the modification of tones in Cantonese we might say that it serves the purpose of indicating:-

- ✓ a. Emotive effects like endearment, pity, and ridicule, and child talk, having the general function of a diminutive; such as modified names of persons, places, familiar objects, ideas, etc.
- ✓ b. The extension of emotive effects to the function of emphasis, showing degree of speed, size, extent, etc.
- ✓ c. Emotive effect resulting in sentence intonation, showing surprise, wonder, disappointment, etc.
- ✓ d. Omission of a following high pitch word by compensatory modification.

5. Cases in which modification does not normally occur.

In this matter of modification there are tones which

seem to lend themselves more readily to modification than others.

This can be exemplified by the use of surnames as names of address preceded by 'A':-

A Zhangx 亞曾 (Surnames are thus used among familiar friends and they are usually modified). This high falling tone is modified.

A Crannv 亞陳 This low falling tone is modified.

But A Lree 亞李 is not modified, as it is a low rising tone and it would be rather similar to its modified form if it occurs. Also 'lreev' 李 means 'plum' and 'lreyv' 梨 means 'pear', so the modified form for Mr. Lree would be misleading, at least it would produce a joke and would thus not be very respectful.

A Nao 亞鈕 (a rare surname).

This middle rising tone would sound too similar to its modified form to be noticed as a modified tone.

A Sung 亞宋 . This middle level tone is not modified.

A possible explanation is that when the starting pitch of the middle level is not low enough to be conveniently sweeping up with a long glide as with tones with a lower starting pitch, which is the movement one almost expects of a Second Modified Tone, owing to the deep rise so noticeable in the modified form of a low falling.

- ✓ 6. Cases in which modification occurs as an exception owing to the wish to stress the familiar usage of a word, etc.

↪ If we look at examples of 2nd Modified Tones, it is a fact that modification happens less frequently in the middle level tone than say the low falling and low level, as Parker also observed. But when the force of familiarity etc. weighs heavy on the balance, as when we speak of that family Sung or Lree (whom we know well) we render them as Sungvdrei, Lreevdrei. This shows that the 'familiar' force can win and operate even though there is some natural deterrent to its modification.

Examples:-

saotouv = gloves (middle level modified)

A Kraov = wife's brother (low level modified)

In seeing how some words are modified and some are not we are often conscious of these two forces (the 'familiar' and 'the deterrent pitch or movement') fighting for supremacy in causing or preventing a modification.

Of the two forces familiar usage or familiar or affectionate feeling the speaker has for the person or object spoken of is the stronger, as under such circumstances modification occurs no matter what tone movement the word has originally. Thus it would appear that in its chief function modification of tone in Cantonese is similar to the use of diminutive in other languages. Isaac Goldberg in 'The Wonder of Words' New York, London, 1938, p. 164

quotes Chamberlain's explanation of Mantegazza as regards the use of diminutives - as part of the 'desire to merge oneself in another, to abase oneself, to aggrandize the beloved'. Goldberg also writes 'The same instinct that leads lovers to converse in baby talk leads them also to make excessive use (for the outside ear) of diminutives. Children adopt a like linguistic attitude toward themselves and toward their pets, animate and inanimate.'

Coming back to mraawx 貓 'cat' which should have a low falling tone mraaw. But a cat is called mraawx and no attention is paid to its original tone which should be a low falling. Apparently, the 'diminutive' here is doubled, so that mraaw+ jrihx is not raised to mraawv but to the sustained high tone, mraawx, namely a high level tone.

We might call this a case of secondary modification without the accompanying primary. As the cat is a familiar domestic animal, it stands to reason that child talk and familiarity with the little kitten, tend to make up the strong 'diminutive' force. Imitation of the sound of the cat might have helped to give this high pitch too. Having been modified thus, the diminutive indication still falls short. When we 'desire to abase' ourselves further to make 'baby talk', we put the suffix 'jrihx' after it as well and say mraawx jrihx, making it trebly diminutive. But when we talk of the owl, we more often say mraawjrihtraw-jhenqx 貓兒頭鷹 instead of mraawxjrihxtraw-jhenqx,

as we are not then referring to 'cat' as our subject of conversation, but 'cat' is mentioned only because of the likeness the owl's head bears to the head of a cat, thus cat-headed eagle (= owl), with most speakers, takes no modification in the cat-headed section of the name.

In view of the importance of the force of familiarity, affection, pity, ridicule, etc. operating on modification of tones we shall provide in the first instance some examples of modified tones of the diminutive category.

For the 1st Modified Tone, that is, the high level tone, we add 'x' to the original spelling of the word, no matter in which tone it is originally, as in the case of mraawx 'cat'. In the case of compounds the syllable preceding the modified last syllable may already be a modified tone itself, such as mraawxjrihx. But sometimes the modified last syllable is preceded by a shanqpyng 'high falling', then tone-sandhi results from it, as in the case of whuuhjrenqx 烏 蠅, literally 'black fly', the colloquial name for a fly. Whuuh 烏 'black', itself a high falling tone, is not a modified tone but it becomes equivalent to a 1st Modified Tone in pitch and movement since tone-sandhi occurs here and we therefore put a short line, under the last letter 'h' of 'whuuh' to indicate this phenomenon and to distinguish it from the case of double modification such as mraawx-jrihx. Thus in whuuhjrenqx tone-sandhi happens in 'whuuh' and modification happens in 'jrenqx'.

There are numerous examples of the shanqpyng 'high falling' tones spoken in the 1st Modified. A great number of them will be given in examples later (V D). At this point I should like to add a short list of words which are not high falling but which are still pronounced in the high level or 1st Modified Tone, owing to the strong diminutive force being present. These, as in the case of the word for 'cat', are raised to the high level without a long rising side by side with them like the examples given above of primary and secondary modification.

saimrannxzae 細 伢 仔 = little child (low falling > 1st Modified)

saozirmreex 手 指 尾 = little finger (low rising > 1st Modified)

zujrihxjrannx 捉 兒 人 = playing the game of catching. (both cases are low falling > 1st Modified)

The following are names connected with disrespect, which unceremoniously states the distinguishing trait, usually uncomplimentary, in the person spoken of.

lhynnmrowx 鬍 毛 = curly-headed (one)
(low falling > 1st Modified)

wrongmrowx 黃 毛 = yellow-headed (one)
(low falling > 1st Modified)

The following are names of a familiar animal and a familiar insect raised to the 1st Modified Tone.

mraarlrawx 馬 騾 = monkey (a name for the animal or a young person or child who deserves the name) (low falling > 1st Modified)

tronqmreyx 螳 螂 = dragon-fly (low falling > 1st modified)

In an adjectival compound the 'jrihx' suffix could

have caused the last syllable (of middle or lower pitches) to become a Second Modified Tone, but in some cases the last syllable is raised to the First Modified Tone, presumably to express a little sarcasm, ridicule, etc.: such as srihpaaix 時派 = fashionable, very up-to-date. (middle level > 1st Modified).

✓ 7. The Diminutive Suffix in Other Chinese Dialects.

Looking at the various dialects of China one finds that the suffix 兒 is used after certain nouns; as in the National Language 'gooull' 狗兒 '(little) dog'. In most dialects as in the National Language this suffix remains as a separate entity though very much neutralized as a tone. We therefore know of its existence and use it accordingly. But in Cantonese such a suffix has been completely incorporated into the word-body which precedes it and so this leads people to believe that some words inconsistently change their tones, that is, to change from their original tones as given in dictionaries, whenever they are used in the spoken language. There are two dialects besides Cantonese, however, which help to supply a clue to the process of transformation. One of these, ✓ the Po-peí dialect, shows the process from the separate entity of a diminutive suffix, through the stage of the suffix, still present, causing a rising movement in the tone of the preceding word and then the stage of incorporation when the last vestige of the separate suffix has

been swallowed up by the preceding word. The other is a dialect of Southern Shandong^{山東} which still keeps the suffix 兒 after some words whereas in others it is merely represented by a flap vowel.

a. The Popei dialect is described by Professor Wang Li in his 'Une prononciation Chinoise de Po-pei', Paris, 1932.

This is the only dialect I have come across which furnishes a parallel to the phenomenon of the modified tones in Cantonese.

If we look at his thesis pp. 84, 85, 86, 87, we find the diminutive suffix 兒 in $\eta in''$, which is a long rising tone (see chart p. 177).

雞兒	= (petit poulet) kae ⁵ $\eta in''$
羊兒	(petit mouton) = ia ⁵ $\eta in''$
馬兒	(petit cheval) = ma ⁶ $\eta in''$
賊兒	(petit voleur) = ts'ak ⁹ ηin

The above list gives us examples of the diminutive still separated from the noun, and it is a clear proof that a diminutive suffix exists in this old dialect, 'le dialecte du pays' 地老話 as opposed to the other dialect in Po-pei 'le dialect étranger' 新民話. The telling feature in the history of the diminutive suffix in the Po-pei dialect lies in the nasalisation of the clipped tone \nearrow . (See examples below). Although Wang Li did not state that this suffix was the reason for the nasalization, he furnished a good list of examples for one to draw the conclusion¹ that the diminutive suffix ' $\eta in''$ '

1. Professor W. Simon pointed this out to me.

must have caused the change, i.e. nasalisation according to the positions of the consonants as produced by the various parts of the mouth, $p > m$, $t > n$, $k > ng$.

p. 71.

æk ⁷ 屋	, maison;	oŋ''	petite maison
hee k ⁷ 哭	, pleurer;	hee k ⁷ -hoŋ'' (1)	, pleurer
mat ¹⁰ 物	, chose;	man''	, petite chose
pə t ⁸ 八	, huit;	a ³ -pan''	, mon petit huitième
pak ⁸ 伯	, oncle;	a ³ -paŋ''	, mon petit oncle
hak ⁸ 嚇	, menacer;	hak ⁸ -haŋ''	, menacer un peu
ɣap ¹⁰ 十	, dixième;	a ³ -ɣam''	, mon petit dixième
həp ⁹ 盒	, boîte;	ham''	, petite boîte.

There are also examples of other tones (not ending in p, t, k) such as

貓 meo ¹ 'chat'	>	meo'' 'petit chat'
牛 pao ² 'boeuf'	>	pao'' 'petit boeuf'
狗 kao ³ 'chien'	>	kao'' 'petit chien'
弟 t'ae ⁴ 'frère'	>	t'ae'' 'petit frère'
甕 oŋ ⁵ 'cruche'	>	oŋ'' 'petit cruche'
妹 mui ⁶ 'sœur'	>	mui'' 'petite sœur'

All the original tones change into the deep or long rising when the diminutive is implied. With these last examples we show words nearest to the Cantonese modified tones; the diminutive suffix has disappeared altogether from the

(1) cf. ~~Spielschen in German~~; xraanq xraanqv in Cantonese.

component parts of the words and only the changed tone (into the 11th or long rising) remains to tell the tale of the process.

b. A less complete, none the less significant, picture of this process is found in examples of this phenomenon in Theodor Bröring's *Laut und Ton in Süd-Schantung*, where we see that some words (i.e. words with light or front vowels) still have ɐl (erl) pronounced after them while others (words with dark or back vowels) have incorporated the suffix to the degree of giving it no separate existence but instead substitute for it a retroflex l or a flapped vowel. This shows how the separate existence of the suffix ɐ as an entity is often endangered by incorporation. When the process has gone too far then the suffix is lost sight of. With the above clue there is little ground to doubt that one of the most important reasons for the modified tones in Cantonese is the incorporation of the suffix 'jrihx' into the word-body which precedes that suffix.

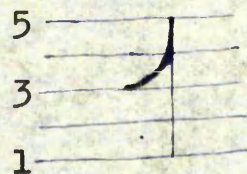
In Cantonese there is another diminutive suffix in the high pitch, nghan, which is a purely colloquial word. Little children are sometimes called Qa-nghan (little one), Zhyh-nghan (little pig), Gao-nghan (little dog). This sound seems to approximate to the diminutive suffix ɐ pin of the Po-peï dialect. But as the Cantonese type of modification does not record nasalization as will be shown in the examples later (V D), the word 'jrihx' is the most

likely suffix to have affected the modification.

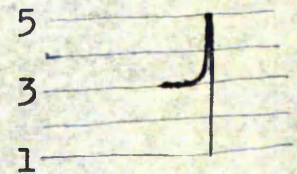
8. Graphic Description of the Modified Tones.

For a graphic description of the modified tones it seems convenient to follow Professor Chao's system, namely with five lines numbered from 1 to 5; thus the 1st Modified Tone is 55: For the 2nd Modified Tones it is a little tricky but Mr. Barnett in his article (loc. cit. p. 741) gives a clear and useful diagram, and enables us to see what happens even in a difficult case like the modified middle rising. In saying Zeorng Wae-jrynnzeorng 蔣委員長 (Chairman Chiang Kai-Shek, a formal title) we pronounce his surname in the middle rising, but he is referred to familiarly in speech as Lroo Zeorngv 老蔣 (Old Chiang, a familiar way of calling a friend [or a well-known figure when aside] by his surname thus). Here, and in similar expressions, or in positions where a variant [modified] tone would be expected, the middle rising tone begins at pitch 3 and ends at pitch 5 or a very little higher, but it gets there in quite a different way from the normal tone as the diagram shows:-

Ordinary tone
zeorng



Variant [Modified]
zeorngv



For other Second Modified Tones their graphs should begin with their original pitch numbers respectively, i.e.

✓ 1, 2, or 3, follow their own movements respectively for a space of time and then rise to pitch 5.

C. Compensatory Modification - Omission of words other than the diminutive suffix 'jrihx'.

✓ By compensatory modification I mean that in Cantonese sometimes a word is dropped or omitted but it still leaves a trace of its previous existence by the difference it makes to the tone of the preceding word. The compensatory modification occasioned by the eliding or omission of the high pitch suffix 'jrihx' has been referred to. It has the specific function of showing the diminutive connotation. ★ But now I am coming to the compensation for the dropping of words other than this suffix. Naturally either the 1st Modified tone or the 2nd could only be caused if the word dropped was originally high in pitch. In the following examples we witness that the omitted words are either high falling, high clipped, or at least middle rising which rises to the same height in the end as the first two.

-2
✓ First of all let us think of the large number of verbs spoken in the modified tones when the past tense is implied. In Cantonese the suffix for indicating the past tense is 'zor' or 'xhiw'.^{to} Either the former or the latter could have dropped out and left its trace resulting in a 1st or 2nd Modified Tone verb, by analogy with the loss of 'jrihx'.

i. Omission of zor or xhiw.

✓ caakvlok = to have taken down (building)
 to have opened (letter)
 to have taken out (stitches)
 [middle-clipped modified]

✓ crammvlok = to have sunk
 [low falling modified]

ditvlrokxeoi = to have fallen down or off
 [compound verb; 1st element modified]

✓ douv lok = to have arrived
 [middle level modified]

(dou as secondary verb i.e. as suffix to a main verb, takes the modification; thus 'zip dou(zor)' to have received > zipdouv but now taken to be zipdoo; similarly, 'warn dou(zor)' 'to have found' > 'warndouv', but now taken to be 'warn doo'.

✓ fhaannx lrayv = to have returned
 [double perfect form 'fhaannzor lrayzor', as it were]

✓ fheyxxediv = to have flown away
 [double perfect form 'fheyzor xeoizor', as it were]

✓ gorngv lok = to have spoken, or said
 (usually gorngzor lok, as the middle rising 'gorng' is too near its modified form in sound, and the speaker feels he has to make it clear with the original form + zor rather than the modified form to indicate the perfect tense).

✓ gwov lok = to have passed

✓ gwov lrung as in 'ngraarn draai tae gwov lrung' = to have overlooked, not to have seen something under one's very nose.

✓ gwov shann = to have died.

✓ kreyvtoo lok* = to have prayed

* A Protestant terminology, hence comparatively new; modification by analogy with other perfect tense compound verbs.

* 1? lrokv xeo(v) lok = to have gone down
[possible double perfect]

? 1? lrynvlrung = to have gone topsy-turvy

✓ mraae(v) lok = to have bought
(usually mraaezor lok, to make the meaning clear, as in the modified tone this is not distinguishable from 'to have sold' when spoken out of context.)

✓ mraaiv lok = to have sold
(usually mraaizor lok, to make the meaning clear, as in the modified form this is not distinguishable from 'to have bought' when spoken out of context.)

mroov lok = no more
[low rising modified]

thawx = to have stolen
[high falling modified]

zreoivzraap* lok = to have been to a Service

✓ In connection with the above examples it is important to note that modification never occurs if the past tense suffix zor or xhiw is explicitly indicated; thus

'Kreoe srekzor lok' 'He has eaten'.
'Kreoe drukzor lok' 'He has read ...'
'Kreoe mraaezor lok' 'He has bought ...'
'Kreoe mraayzortraw lok' 'He has disembarked'
'Kreoe theyzorxeoiv lok' 'He has flown away'
1? 'Kreoe nhenqzorxeoiv lok' 'He has taken ... away'.

All these verbs are not modified. The use of 'zor' after the main verb is often found but not usually with secondary verbs; thus in a phrase like 'Nhenqxfhaannxlayv lok' 'has been brought back' it shows that the speaker implies the past throughout the main verb + secondary verbs

* A Protestant terminology, hence comparatively new; modification by analogy with other perfect tense compound verbs.

'take-return-come' but if 'zor' is to be retained one could either say 'Nhenqzorfhaannxlayv lok' or 'Nhenqzorfhaannlayv lok' but never 'Nhenqzorfhaannzorlayv lok'.

✓ ii. Omission of dhak ㄹ

✓ jrawdhak kreoe lha > jrawv kreoe lha = let him be, allow him to ...

(Sometimes 'dhak' is put back, because the origin of the modification in 'jrawv' has been forgotten; thus 'jrawv-dhak kreoe lha' is also a possible construction.

✓ jram-dhak kreoe > jramv kreoe = to let him have perfect freedom of action.

zraan-dhak gaao geazhea > zraanv gaao geazhea = it's only going to a lot of trouble for nothing, it will be futile.

✓ iii. Omission of douv (taken now as doo 倒 by Cantonese writers) and xae.

brang-douv (or xae) cheonqxxao-sy > brangv cheonqxao-sy = to be leaning against the window.

bruk-douv (or xae) sy > brukv sy = to have put one's head down on one's arm or arms.

cror-douv (or xae) sy > crorv sy = sitting down.

✓ fan-douv (or xae) sy^{> fanv sy} = lying down.

fhey-douvpaao > fheyxpaao
(for emphasis sometimes fheyx-douv paao is used)

gwaa-douv (or xae) sy > gwaav sy = hanging up.

gwrai-douv (or xae) sy > gwraiv sy = to be kneeling down.

kramm-douv (or xae) drou creonq-sy > krammv drou creonq-sy = to have climbed on the wall.

✓ kree-douv (or xae) sy > kreev sy = standing up.

mhaw-douv (or xae) sy > mhawx sy = squatting down.

nghaay-douv (or xae) sy > nghaayx sy = leaning on something.

phow xae dreiv-sy > phowx dreiv-sy = spread (it) on the floor.

taat-douv (or xae) sy > taatv sy = to have relaxed the body completely while lying down.

thaann-douv (or xae) sy > thaannx sy = lying down carelessly.

tok-douv (or xae) boktraw-sy > tokv boktraw-sy = shouldering (it)

zaat-douv (or xae) phoh sry-sy > zaatv phoh sry-sy = tied on to a tree.

zhaah xae sao-sy > zhaahx sao-sy = holding (it) in one's hand.

✓iv. Omission of jhat: after intransitive verbs:-

✓cheoy jhat cheoy > cheoyx cheoy = to blow (once).

✓cror jhat cror > crorv cror = to sit (a while).

darng jhat darng > darngv darng = to wait (a while).

✓drok jhat drok > drokv drok = to measure (once).

✓gin jhat gin > ginv gin = to see (once or a while).

✓jhuk jhat jhuk > jhuk → jhuk = to make one move.

✓jrung jhat jrung > jrungv jrung = to use (a while)

✓kwaang jhat kwaang > kwaangv kwaang = to go round (once or a while) said of a place of interest.

✓mran jhat mran > mranv mran = to ask (once).

✓mrann jhat mrann > mrannv mrann = to smell (once or a while).

✓mrong jhat mrong > mrongv mrong = to gaze (once).

✓ngraao jhat ngraao > ngraaov ngraao = to bite (once)

✓si jhat si > siv si = to try (once or a while)

- taam jhat taam > taamv taam = to visit (once).
- tao jhat tao > taov tao = rest (a while).
- theang jhat theang > theangx theang = to listen (once or a while).
- tiu jhat tiu > tiuv tiu = to jump (once).
- wraat jhat wraat > wraatv wraat = to slip (once).
(This is not distinguishable from 'very slippery' without context.)
- xaak jhat xaak > xaakv xaak = to frighten (once).
- xraang jhat xraang > xraangv xraang = to walk (a while).
- zaat jhat zaat > zaatv zaat = to be startled, to start (once).
- zhak jhat zhak shannx > zhak zhak shannx = to dodge, to bend body to one side.

After transitive verbs:-

- daar jhat gwan mran jhat gwan > daarv gwan mranv gwan = to ask for the truth (from the accused who is given the third degree) after every stroke of the cane.
- gin jhat jrat zrou jhat jrat xraiv lha > ginv jrat zrouv jrat xraiv lha = (I) shall do (my duty) as long as I am employed in this job.
- Gwornghay jraov ('jhat' omitted) go lraw jrann drungv, Gwornghung jraov ('jhat' omitted) go mrongfhuuh gwhayx = In Goangshi Province there is a Hold-man-cave, in Goangdong Province there is a Gaze (Hope)-husband-return-(rock).
- Zrouv ('jhat' omitted) jrat wrohsreongv xhaawx ('jhat' omitted) jrat zhunx = lit: to be a monk a day, strike bell a day i.e. As long as I am on the job, I shall do my duty (but I have no interest in it).

After other parts of speech, chiefly classifiers

- shinn jhat ci > shinnx ci = the last time, previous time.
- sreong jhat ci > sreongv* ci = the previous time.

* The contraction is hardly completed and so the glide is longer than an ordinary modified tone and the 'jhat' is almost audible.

xraa jhat ci > xraa-v* ci = next time.

— The following modified classifiers imply the omission of

jhat:- *Handwritten: 11-13 v. 14 v. 15 v. 16 v. 17 v. 18 v. 19 v. 20 v. 21 v. 22 v. 23 v. 24 v. 25 v. 26 v. 27 v. 28 v. 29 v. 30 v. 31 v. 32 v. 33 v. 34 v. 35 v. 36 v. 37 v. 38 v. 39 v. 40 v. 41 v. 42 v. 43 v. 44 v. 45 v. 46 v. 47 v. 48 v. 49 v. 50 v. 51 v. 52 v. 53 v. 54 v. 55 v. 56 v. 57 v. 58 v. 59 v. 60 v. 61 v. 62 v. 63 v. 64 v. 65 v. 66 v. 67 v. 68 v. 69 v. 70 v. 71 v. 72 v. 73 v. 74 v. 75 v. 76 v. 77 v. 78 v. 79 v. 80 v. 81 v. 82 v. 83 v. 84 v. 85 v. 86 v. 87 v. 88 v. 89 v. 90 v. 91 v. 92 v. 93 v. 94 v. 95 v. 96 v. 97 v. 98 v. 99 v. 100 v. 101 v. 102 v. 103 v. 104 v. 105 v. 106 v. 107 v. 108 v. 109 v. 110 v. 111 v. 112 v. 113 v. 114 v. 115 v. 116 v. 117 v. 118 v. 119 v. 120 v. 121 v. 122 v. 123 v. 124 v. 125 v. 126 v. 127 v. 128 v. 129 v. 130 v. 131 v. 132 v. 133 v. 134 v. 135 v. 136 v. 137 v. 138 v. 139 v. 140 v. 141 v. 142 v. 143 v. 144 v. 145 v. 146 v. 147 v. 148 v. 149 v. 150 v. 151 v. 152 v. 153 v. 154 v. 155 v. 156 v. 157 v. 158 v. 159 v. 160 v. 161 v. 162 v. 163 v. 164 v. 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jhat brouv brou = volume by volume.

jhat caakv caak = volume by volume. *Handwritten: 11/11 21*

jhat cranqv cranq = layer by layer.

jhat drekv drek = drop by drop.

jhat drynv dryn = paragraph by paragraph.

jhat faaiv faai = piece by piece.

jhat franv fran = portion by portion.

jhat gaav gaa = one by one (said of cars, machines, etc.)

jhat gov go = one by one.

jhat grauv grau = piece by piece, lump by lump.

jhat grinv grin = piece by piece. *Handwritten: 134*

jhat grytv gryt = section by section, in sections.

jhat nrinnv nrinn = year by year; (contrast jhat go jryt jhat go jryt = month by month)

jhat srihv srih = it depends on the time or the occasion.

jhat touv tou = set by set.

jhat trenqv trenq = each type, type by type.

jhat trunqv trunq = tube by tube.

jhat wruuyv wruuy = time by time, each time, chapter by chapter of a fiction.

jhat xao(v) xao jhinnx-zae = cigarette by cigarette.

jhat zeakv zeak = one by one (said of animals and some inanimate objects).

* The contraction is hardly completed and so the glide is longer than an ordinary modified tone and the 'jhat' is almost audible.

— jhat zritv zrit = section by section, in sections.

✓ v. Omission of zir.

✓ gaa-zir > gaav = dignity, honour as in 'dhiw gaav' 'to have lost face'. Whereas 'baae gaa-zir' 'to act big' 'gaa' is not modified because 'zir' is retained.

✓ jreah-zir > jreahv = coconut.

jreahv-sry = coconut tree.

✓ jreahv-xok = coconut shell.

✓ mrin-zir > mrinv = face in the sense of dignity, honour as in 'dhiw mrinv' 'to have lost face' 'mrh qoi mrinv' 'not caring about one's position, dignity, etc.'

✓ vi. Omission of various other words.

jhatzran-ghaannx > jhatzranv = in a moment, a moment.

✓ krio xee geok cror xae sy > kriov geok crorvsv = sitting with crossed legs.

✓ lryn gam lray > lrynv lray, occasionally lrynv gam lray = to do things anyhow, unsystematically.

✓ xae dreixraavsv > xae dreiv-sv = on the floor.

✓ xei dreangfhong > xei dreangv = to go abroad, to tour places.

D. Examples of Modified Tones

I am attempting to make the following lists as comprehensive as possible so as to enable students to use them for reference, since so far the only primer that has noted the modified tones is Professor Chao's Cantonese Primer and its index includes only those words which happen to be included in his lessons.

1. Nouns.

✓ a. Names of Family Relations.

✓ 1. Names of address among members of the family and among relatives.

A Dheahx = Daddy.

A Gwuuhx = Mother.

A Jhihx = Mother's younger sister.

A Mhaahx = Mamma.

Mraahmhaahx = Mamma.

✓ A Nraaex = Mother

✓ A Taaiv = Great grand-mother.

✓ Braahbhaahx = Papa.

✓ Draai-gwhuuhx } = Miss No.1.
 ✓ Draai-gwhuuhnreongv }

✓ Gwuuhmhaahx = father's elder sister.

Gwuuhnraaex = husband's elder sister.

Gwuuhzeax = father's younger sister.

✓ Jreahjreahv = Grandfather (rare).

✓ Jri-gwhuuhx } = Miss No.2.
 ✓ Jri-gwhuuhnreongv }

✓ Jri-nraaex = Concubine No. 2.

Jrihnraaex = wife's elder sister.

Krao-fruuv = mother's brother.

✓ Lreng Chingghammx } = Your honourable daughter.
 (or Lreng Qoiv) }

✓ Lreng Lrongv = Your honourable son.

✓ Lreng Tronq(v) = Your honourable mother.

✓ Lreng Zhynnjhunqx = Your honourable father.

Nraaynraaev = address by a daughter-in-law or inferiors in or outside the family to the mother-in-law, note the peculiar change of tone of 'nraae' low rising, to 'nraay', low falling, which reaches lower in pitch than the low rising, a feature occurring sometimes in repetitive compounds for its euphonic value.

Nreonqnreonqv = Grandmother (rare).

Prohprohv = Grandmother.

Shihnraaex = Mrs. - a term used by married Christian women in addressing each other.

Siunraaex = Mrs., Mistress, a form of address by inferior to a married woman.

Taaitaaiy = Mrs. (a more modern term than Siunraaex).

ii. Names signifying relationship but not used as names of address are usually unmodified but when any diminutive or familiar connotation is attached to them then modification operates. (Modified names here are underlined.)

a ghunq = grandfather on mother's side.

a gwuuh
or a gwuuh-zae } = husband's younger sister.

- a jrihx = mother's younger sister.

a jreah = Grandfather on father's side.

a jrih
or jrih-zae
or jrihx-zae } = wife's younger sister.

a mraah = Grandmother on father's side (also used as name of address).

- a nraaev = concubine.

a proh = grandmother on mother's side, also used as name of address.

canghaah lronqv = servants of relatives by marriage.

draai gwuuh = husband's elder sister.

draai zir = elder sister.

- ghaahghunqx = husband's father.

- ghaahprohv = husband's mother.

- jrihmhaahx = mother's elder sister.

jrihnreoe = children (more literary than zaenreoev).

- jrihshang nreoev = niece, sister's daughter.

krarmroo(v)

or krarm mroo(x) = mother's brother's wife, often modified by children, when used as a name of address.

- lroomroov = mother.

- mruuiv = younger sister (modified but elder sister 'draai zir' is unmodified).

nreoesaiv = son-in-law.

shanqx

or jrihshanqx } = sister's son.
or ngroishanqx }

shynnqx = grandson.

- shynn nreoev = grand-daughter.

xhenqdrai = brothers.

zaenreoev = children.

zirmruui(v) = sisters.

zirshynn = descendants.

- zratnreoev = brother's daughter.

- zratv = brother's son.

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b. Personal and other names.

i. Names of persons - Well known persons in history or in popular fiction, or names of contemporary figures much in the public eye, often have the last syllable of their names modified. The modification is specially prevalent

when such names have tones that lend themselves easily to modification such as the high falling which then becomes the 1st Modified Tone, or the low falling and low level which then become 2nd Modified Tones.

Geok Mrann-Gwhannx 卓文君

Crow Chowx 曹操

Gaar Boo-Jrukv 賈寶玉

Gheong Taai-Ghunqx 姜太公

(contrast Gwhaann Ghung 關公 and Zhaw Ghung 周公 unmodified, as Gheong Taai-Ghunqx and his pitiful search for a suitable lord became an intimate figure in the heart of the people).

Jreong Gwai-Theyx 楊貴妃

Jrynn Mrey-Zhihx 元徽之

Lramm Droii-Jrukv 林黛玉

Lraw Breiv 劉備

Lraw Jhammx 劉歡

(contrast his father Lraw Xeong unmodified. N.B. 'Xeong' is in the middle level).

Lreong Shaann-Baakv 梁山伯

(contrast Zhuk Jhenq-Troy 祝英臺, unmodified, but her abbreviated name Zhuk Jhenqx is modified. N.B. Jhenq is in high falling).

Mroo Crungv 武松

Mroo Draai-Lrongv 武大郎

(contrast Shaymruunn Xeng 西門慶 unmodified. N.B. Xeng is in middle level).

Mroo Zhak Thinnx 武則天

Mrow Zraak Dhunqx 毛澤東

Ngraw Lrongv 牛郎

Ngrh Puui-Fhuuhx 吳佩孚

Phuunn Ghamm Lrinny 潘金蓮

Qhawjreong Shawx 歐陽修
(contrast with Zhyh Xhey 朱喜 unmodified).

Shay Shihx 西施

Shihmraar Chinnx 司馬遷
(contrast with Bhaann Gwu 班固 unmodified.
N.B. Gwu is in middle level).

Shihmraar Shihx 司馬師
(contrast Shihmraar Ji 司馬懿 unmodified.
N.B. Ji is in middle level).

Show Dhung-Bhohx 蘇東坡

Show Sio-Mruuiv 蘇小妹

Shynn Crynn-Fhongx 孫傳芳

Shynn Fhuuhjrannv 孫夫人
(contrast Shynn Krynn 孫權 unmodified, a
less favourite figure).

Shynn Zhung-Shaannx 孫中山

Sung Ghongx 宋江

Wronq Chiw-Gwhannx 王昭君
(contrast her less familiar name Wronq Creong
王嫱 unmodified).

Wronq Xhey Zhihx 王羲之

Wruuh Xon-Mrannv 胡漢民

Zeorng Gaai-Sreakv 蔣介石

Zhaw Chongx 周倉

Zhek Nreoev 織女

Zheong Fheyx 張飛
(contrast Gwhaann Jryr 關羽 unmodified.
N.B. Jryr is in low rising).

Zriu Wrannv 趙雲

For comparison and contrast a list of unmodified names
of well known persons in history, fictions and among
contemporary figures is given below. Reasons for their not

being modified could either be because of the high respect accorded to persons bearing the names or because the Chinese characters of such names have a literary flavour and are therefore unfamiliar, or because the tones do not lend themselves so easily to the difficulty of forming a long rise; such as the middle level; or because the original tones are in the rising group and are already near the rising sweep of the 2nd modified tones, or because the persons cannot be taken into the categories of diminutive, familiarity, pity or ridicule.

Bhow Crir 褒姒

Braak Gheoy-Jri 白居易

Braak Srunq-Xhey 白崇禧

Col Trenq-Ghaay 蔡庭楷

Dhiw Srimm 貂蟬

Drou Fuur (or Poo) 杜甫

Durng Ceok 董卓

Gwhaann Ghung 關公

Gwhaann Jryr 關羽

Jrynn Sai-Xoe 袁世凱

Jrynn Sreot 袁術

Lrao Zhunq-Jrynn 柳宗元

Lraw Jryr-Sek 劉禹錫

Lree Braak 李白

Lree Xrunq-Zheong 李鴻章

Lree Zhunq-Jrann 李宗仁

Lreoe Bou 呂布

Lreong Kae-Chiw	梁 啓 超
Mraang (Q)hoh	孟 軻
Mraang Wrok	孟 獲
(Q)hoh Dao	阿 斗
Shaymrueun Xeng	西 門 慶
Shihmraar Ji	司 馬 懿
Shihmraar Sheonqjryh	司 馬 相 如
Show Cit	蘇 轍
Sir Sheonq-Wrann	史 雙 湘 雲
Shynn Caak	孫 策
Shynn Krynn	孫 權
Taarn Gee	妲 己
Whong Zhenq-Wrai	汪 精 衛
Wrong Mrorng	王 莽
Wrong Qhonn-Sreak	王 安 石
Wrong Wrarn	王 允
Xronn Jry	韓 愈
Xurng Creonq-Xhey	孔 祥 熙
Zhaw Ghunq	周 公
Zhaw Jhann-Lroy	周 恩 來
Zhaw Jryh	周 瑜
Zriu Zir-Lrunq	趙 子 龍
Zhong Zhaw	莊 周
Zhyhgot Lreong	諸 葛 亮
Zhyh Jrynn-Zheonq	朱 元 章
Zhyh Xhey	朱 熹
Zhyh Xrunq-Mroo	朱 洪 武

It seems that Xhey¹ as represented by various characters in a personal name in the above list escapes modification; Ghaay² seems to have escaped as well. Indeed all these characters appear to have a literary flavour. But when these sounds occur elsewhere, not as personal names, they could be modified.

iii. Names of Cantonese persons are often given according to the order they come in their families, a practice found all over China, but the Cantonese modify the tones of some numbers. 55 is put in front of the numbers to make them personal names.

A Jriv = No. 2.

A Ngrrv = No. 5.

A Shaammx = No. 3.

When the number reaches beyond ten then 'A' is dropped:

Srapseiv No. 14.

Srapngrrv No. 15.

Sraplruk No. 16.

Srapbaatv No. 18.

The remaining unmodified numbers will be dealt with below. Also the numbers show up rather forcibly the way modification works and the relative importance of the familiar and diminutive force as compared with the tendency of non-modification owing to an inconvenience in the pitch or movement in the original tone.

1. Contrast Xhong Xhayx = a familiar reign title 'Kanghsi' is modified.

2. Contrast Ghaayx = street, a familiar noun, is modified.

Unmodified numbers in names:-

- ✓ 1 A Jhat = No. 1. *It is a high clipped, already high, so no modification occurs.*
- ✓ 4 A Sei (Si) = No. 4. Middle level, is less frequently modified than say low falling and low level, as its modification merely leads to a small sweep of a rise. But when the sense of scorn or ridicule is there modification is frequently heard, as in 'mrh shaamm mrh siv' 唔三唔四 though this modification is optional. This phrase means 'not respectable', 'immoral', 'not pulling one's weight'. When a child or a concubine numbered 14th in the family is often called 'Srapseiv' or 'Srapshiv' 'No. 14', as such a name is usually that of a young member of the family and modification occurs because of the strong diminutive force operating on the name.
- X 6 A Lruk No. 6. If lruk is modified it would call up in one's mind the established name of 'lrukv' 鹿 'deer', an animal not among those commonly accepted as endearing, diminutive names in the family circle. 'Dog' and 'Pig' are the most popular but not the 'deer'. So No. 6 'A Lruk' is not modified. But the 16th child or 16th concubine is called Sraplrukv for reasons stated above, as in No. 14. Also the two syllables Sraplrukv enable one to dissociate one's mind altogether from the 'deer'. The number 'six' also gets modified in the compound Shaammlrukv (三六) '3+6'. A story was told among the Cantonese of a filial daughter-in-law who was asked to give a message to her father-in-law whose name was Gao 'No. 9', a homophone for 'dog'. He was boasting to friends about her filial piety and her strict observance of the law of 'taboo' as regards his personal name. His friends wanted to trap her by putting in many homophones of Gao in the message she was to give to her father. Among these homophones was Gaocoiy 韭菜 'leek' and she got round pronouncing the word 'gao' here by giving it the pseudonym '3+6 vegetable', punning on the sound of Gao 韭 which homophone means 'nine'. Such pseudonyms are usually modified, just as nicknames are usually modified.
- X 7 A Chat = No. 7. It is a high clipped tone, already high, so there is no modification.
- X 8 A Baat = No. 8. Similar to No. 14 and No. 16, Srapbaatv could also be a name and be modified, but ^{baat} by itself as a personal name it is not modified. It is modified in the compound 'chat chat baatv' 七七八 'nearly complete', 'nearly 100% finished'. 'srap chat baatv' 十七八 'aged around 17 or 18'.

A Gao = No. 9.

It is a middle rising tone, and should have almost the same rise as its modified tone, although one could hear the stress and longer stay in the starting of the sweep upward when a careful speaker is pronouncing a modified middle rising tone.

A Srap = No. 10.

It is not modified. Unlike No. 6, it has no special meaning if it were modified. It is perhaps not as common or familiar as numbers that come before it. As soon as it is in the compound *Jrisrapv* = 二十 No. 20 then modification happens as the diminutive force operates then.

From the above, we see that the clipped tone numbers Lruk '6', Chat '7', Baat '8', and Srap '10' when by themselves are not modified even though their pitch and movement offer no inconvenience for modification.

We have mentioned that the probable reason for non-modification of '6' was its having a homophone meaning 'deer' and that '7' is already high. For '8' and '10' we could probably offer the reason that when we get to the high number, we find that they are not so often used as personal names.

iv. Among names given to new born babies there are some very common ones, in modified tones of course, given by illiterate, semi-illiterate, conventional or superstitious parents who are often afraid of the jealousies of the gods if their children are made into important individuals by adopting specially concocted names with a literary flavour as practised among the literati. If the babies have only common conventional names like 'Baby', or names of animals as 'dog' or 'pig', they are then of the common herd and are things that matter little to gods or men, and

so the jealous gods may not feel jealous about them and will leave them alone instead of snatching ^{them} away from their proud parents. Illiterate people also find it easier to call their children by ready-made names rather than digging into the Classics or belle-lettre literature for them as most of the literati do. The following are a few names equivalent to 'Baby' 'Babe' 'Babs' etc.

- A Showx show 餵乳 = curdled milk and is the Cantonese word for the smell (of curdled milk?) in a new born baby. Probably by analogy it means 'to give birth to a baby'. Therefore the meaning of this name could either be 'The milky smell one' or 'The new born one'. Probably both meanings are conjured up in the minds of the loving parents.
- A Nghaa
or A Xhaa Probably the phonetic for the cries uttered by babies.
- Showxhaa Doubling the two names above into one, therefore a disyllabic name for 'Baby'.
- Brihbhi Phonetic for sounds babies make? It may be a transliteration for baby or bébé, but I do not think so as it seems to be used widely among all sorts of Cantonese people, even people far in the country.

v. Among personal names of one syllable the more common ones are modified, especially those in high falling tone:-

- | | |
|---|---------------|
| { | A Bhohx 亞波 |
| | A Ghammx 亞金 |
| | A Ghiwx 亞嬌 |
| | A Ghynnx 亞娟 |

Modified common names in tones other than the high falling:-

- | | | |
|---|---------------|------|
| { | A Jrukv 亞玉 | etc. |
| | A Lrinnv 亞蓮 | |
| | A Nreoev 亞女 | |

Where familiar characters occur as the second element of a disyllabic name, they are modified.

..... chynnx (川) shanqx (生)
..... crynnx (泉) shinxx (仙)
..... crihv (池) srannv (臣)
..... fhonqx (芳) sreakv (石)
..... jryhv (如) wrannv (雲)

But when the characters are not so common that is if they are not in daily use and are therefore not the most familiar, in other words if they have a literary flavour, then even if they are in the high falling tone, modification does not occur; similar to what is mentioned above regarding such syllables when they make up part of a disyllabic name.

A Chiw 亞起

A Ghaay 亞佳

A Xhey 亞喜

A Zheonq 亞章

vi. Nicknames

Closely connected with familiarity, endearment and solicitude for the young and tiny and weak, are diminutives allied with feelings of sarcasm, disdain, or ridicule. In La Langue Francaise Vol. 3. p. 68, Nyrop wrote "... Les diminutifs abaissent à un degré inférieur le sens du mot dont ils dérivent; c'est pourquoi ils s'emploient beaucoup dans le langage enfantin et dans

toutes les expressions tendres, caressantes et calmes. Cependant, en désignant ce qui est petit et mignon, ils arrivent aussi à désigner ce qui est frêle et faible et revêtent ainsi facilement une nuance de dédain. Chez

↑ toutes les nation romanes ou constate une forte prédilection.

In Cantonese almost all nicknames, especially those connected with disabilities or ugly features are in modified tones. The Cantonese make no bones about their sense of ridicule. They mean no offence, and usually take no offence when it is applied to themselves.

✓ A Bhanqx = The Hare-lipped One.

✓ A Bhayx = The Lamé.

✓ Creonq-gearng Ngrohv } = a long necked one, like a
✓ Creonq-gearng Xrokv } goose or a crane.

A Dhaannx = The Single-eyed One (One with a blind eye)

Draupreyv = Pock-marked one.

✓ A Freyv = The Fat One.

✓ A Lhaai = The Last One.

A Lhynnx = The Crooked or Bent One or The Curly-headed One, who is also called Lhynn-mrowx. Also No. 9, as the Chinese character for nine 九 has bends and so is crooked, and so No. 9 in the family is sometimes facetiously called A Lhynnx.

✓ Mhangghayx } = Scar over the eye.
or Nhangghayx }

✓ A Mraanqv = The Blind or short-sighted One.

✓ Mranqbreiv = One with deformed nose.

✓ Nhak-ngraahv = One with speech defect of leaving out some initial consonants.

✓ A Nghan = The Small One, Tiny One.

✓ A Saaux = The One with Protruding Teeth.

✓ A Trohv = The Hunchback.

✓ Wronq-mrowx = Yellow-haired One.

Xrunq-breighohx = Rednose.

A Zraaux = The Limping One (swaying from side to side).

There are also unmodified nicknames, unmodified because the persons concerned are not ridiculed.

A Lrunq = The Deaf One. Deafness is not such a visible deformity and is seldom used as a real name of address.

A Sau = The Slim or Thin One. This is a middle level tone, and more important still thinness is not 'funny'.

Gransri(v) loo = a near-sighted man, not used for address to person concerned, as short-sightedness is not as serious or conspicuous a defect as blindness and so it does not usually become a real name of address.

Other nicknames are connected with one's moral character rather than outward appearance, and the chief ingredient of them is ridicule.

A Dhenqx = a gullible person.

Draai-paau Jraov = liar, one who fabricates stories, or boasts.

Fhaanntraw Dheonqx = A woman who married again after her husband's death.

Gwhuunnx zae = spoilt person.

Gwrat-mree Lrunqv = Tailless Dragon, connected with the story of a dragon who got angry with his patron and caused great havoc; hence it means 'a disloyal person'.

Lheang zae = a mere boy.

Mruuix-zae Dheang = maid, slave girl.

✓ Shaygwhaannx A Gwhuunnx = a spoilt person from the West of Canton.

✓ Shay-zhonqx Jraov = a wearer of western-fashion clothes

Zaat-geok nreonqx } = bound-foot woman.
 ✓ Zrin-geok nreonqx }

vii. Names of animals:- Common names given to dogs are also modified.

A Whuuhx = Blackie.

A Wronqv = Brownie.

✓ viii. Names of famous foreign personages (transliterated) are often modified, especially when they have a final syllable in the high falling tone. There is the belief that foreign languages are all spoken in the highest pitch.

Jreahshowx = Jesus

Mhohshayx = Moses.

✓ ix. Names of things for common use, for instance, names of steamers:-

Boo Qhonnx 寶安 } both were river steamers plying
 Xroh Nraammv 河南 } between Hongkong and Canton for
 a number of years.

✓ c. Surnames, names of other tribes (aborigines etc.), and Reign Titles.

✓ i. Surnames

A Crannv 亞陳

A Jreonqv 亞楊

✓ A Lrammv 亞林

A Lreonqv 亞梁

A Frunqv 亞馮

A Jripv 亞葉

✓ A Lrawv 亞劉

A Lroh v 亞羅

A Mraar 亞馬

1

(modified only when in compound
'Mraarvdrei' 'The Mraar Family')

A Mrokv 亞莫

/ A Ngrhv 亞吳

/ Qhawjreonqv 歐陽

/ Shihtrow(v) 司徒

(modification of this is rare)

A Sung 亞宋

1

(rarely modified; usually modified
only when used in compound 'Sungvdrei'
'The Sung Family')

/ A Tronqv 亞唐

/ A Wrovrionqv 亞王

/ A Wruuhv 亞胡

/ A Xron. 亞馬

/ A Zheonqx 亞張

/ A Zrea 亞謝

/ A Zreangv 亞鄭

/ A Zriuv 亞趙

ii. Names of other tribes or groups of Chinese as well
as other nationals.

/ Draan-ghaahx = Boat people.

/ Lroo-fhaannx = foreign (European).

/ Mhohlho(-chaa) = Indians.

/ Mraarlhaai = Malays.

/ Ngroighonqx-loo = Northern Chinese, or any Chinese not
from Goangdong Province.

/ Xaakghaahx = The Hakkas.

iii. Titles of Reign Periods.

The more familiar reign periods are modified, except
that tones that lend themselves to modification are more
readily modified whereas tones like the middle level and
the low rising do not take on modification. If we take
the more talked about reign periods, that is, those nearest

1. Mraar and Sung are not modified when used by friends in
addressing each other, but they are usually modified when
we refer to 'Our friends, the Sungs or the Mraars'.

to us, say of the Ching 朝 Dynasty, we can see the functioning of modification, how the forces of familiar usage and the natural movement of the tones pull against each other. The fact that earlier reign periods did not come into the orbit of modification is, however, no proof that modification did not function before the Ming or Ching Dynasties. Central government control was not too successful before Song 宋 times and even after Song the means of communication between Canton and the court was not as good as since Ching times, when contact with the west hastened closer contact between the south and the court, and the people of the south were much more affected and more quickly too by political moves of the emperors than ever before and no wonder the titles of their reign periods were more talked about, and they came thus into the orbit of one force of modification, as these titles were to the people like the personal names of their sovereigns. It may be of interest to mention that 咸淳 Xraamm sreonn 1265-1275 is not modified but 咸淳年 Xraamm sreonn nrinnv is. The year of Xraamm sreonn of the Song Dynasty is proverbial meaning long long ago, ancient; and as history shows the Cantonese had reasons to take notice of the Song who tightened up the administration in Goangdong and as the Cantonese became truly Chinese their memory of the Song lingered even after the barbarian Mongols had established the Yuan Dynasty. The year of Xraamm sreonn was long ago, but it made an impression in their mind and

was remembered. Another proverbial saying similar to this is perhaps an extension of the idea 'ancient'. In the early days of the Republic, if some one referred to a lady as being young and we disagreed we might say, she must be a young lady in the year of Xraamm fhunqx (Xraamm fhunqx nrinn ghaahhx gea draai-gwhuuhnreong) where the first syllable is 咸, harking back to the former saying of Xraamm sreonn nrinnv 咸淳年, very ancient time, and, of course Xraamm fhunqx 咸豐 (1851-1862) meanwhile could be considered as ancient time also, when compared with the year of the Republic (1911-2) when the age of a 'young' lady was in question.

Ming Dynasty

洪武 Xrunq mroo not modified. N.B. mroo is low rising. Occasionally one hears the name 朱洪武 modified to Zhyh xrrunq-mroov, but not often.

景泰 Gerngtaai, a familiar title, used in name of colour Gerng Taal lraamm, Taai is in the middle level tone and is not modified.

But other familiar titles which lend themselves more easily to modification are modified:-

萬曆 Mraanlrekv

崇禎 Srunqzhenqx

The Ching Dynasty

順治 Sreon zriv

康熙 Xhôngxheyx

雍正 Jhunq zeng (last syllable is a middle level tone, unmodified)

乾隆 Krimm lrunqv

Ghaah xeng (last syllable is a middle level tone; very infrequently ghaahxengv) 嘉慶

Drou gwhonqx 道光

Xraamm fhunqx 咸豐

Trunq zri(v) 同治

Gwhonq sreoi(v) 光緒

Shynn Turng (last syllable is a middle rising) 宣統

✓ d. Names of famous and popular books, stories and plays.

i. Books and Stories.

✓ Cheonnchawx = Spring and Autumn Annals.

✓ Draaixrokx = The Great Learning (contrast Zhunq jrung, 大學 中庸 unmodified, probably it is less familiar).

✓ Gwhaann zheoyx = Name of an ode in the Odes.

✓ Gwuur mrannv = An Anthology of Ancient Prose.

Lreyllawv = Part of Mencius.

✓ Lriwzhaayx = a collection of short stories.

✓ Mrukjryh-shyhx = Popular Cantonese stories in rhyme.

✓ Seoewuur-zrynv = Name of novel translated by Pearl Buck as 'All Men are Brothers'.

✓ Shaamm-zri ghenqx (三字經) = Three syllable line Classic or Jrann-zhih-chohx (人之初) (a primer).

Shih ghenqx = Classic of Odes (contrast Lrae gei 禮記 詩經 Classic of Rites, unmodified, 'gei' being a middle level tone).

✓ Shyh ghenqx = Classic of History.

✓ Si-shyhx = The Four Books.

✓ Sreong Mraangv = Mencius (First part) (contrast Mraang 止孟 zir 孟子, The Book of Mencius, unmodified; 'zir' is a middle rising tone.).

✓ Thung shyhx¹ = Calendar, usually called Thung seng
 通書 通勝, 'seng' being a middle level tone
 remains unmodified.

Tronq shihx = Tarng Poems.

唐詩
 Xraa Mraangv = Mencius (Second Part).

下孟
 Xrokjrihv = Part of the Analects (contrast Shinnzeon
 學而 先進, less familiar? Also 'zeon' is a
 middle level tone. Also Lreonjryr 論語
 the Analects, unmodified, 'jryr' is a low
 rising tone).

ii. Names of plays.

✓ Cranngwhuuhx zheoy zhawx 陳姑追舟

✓ Draai Fhunq-seonqv 大封相

✓ Gao-ghaang thinx 九更天

✓ Mraai-jraw Lronqv 賣油郎

✓ Shay sheonqx = Western Chamber 西廂

✓ Tronq Baak Fuur dirm Chawxheonqx 唐伯虎點秋香

Zhonqzir si chayx 莊子試妻

✓ e. Geographical names, including names of continents,
 countries, places, streets and shops.

i. Continents (transliterations):-

✓ A-fhey-lrei-ghaah Zhaw(x) = Africa
 (or Fhey Zhaw)

✓ A-mree-lrei-ghaah Zhaw(x) = America
 (or Mree Zhaw)

✓ A-sai-a Zhaw(x) = Asia
 (or A Zhaw(x) N.B. Asia is nearer home so usually
 takes on modification)

1. The Cantonese use the 'Calendar book' as a sort of encyclopedia as it includes a great amount of information in life including the fixing of lucky and unlucky days for all sorts of activities. But 'shyh' 'book' has unfortunately a homophone meaning 'to lose a bet' and the mere mention of the sound may cause bad luck and so the word 'seng' 'to win' is exchanged for 'shyh' and so the book can be mentioned at all times.

Qhaw-lroh-bhaah Zhaw(x) = Europe
(or Qhaw Zhaw)

Qou-drei-lrei-a Zhaw(x) = Australia
(or Qou Zhaw or Xoejreong Zhaw)

ii. Countries - Transliterated names of countries not very well known or not in long usage are unmodified, such as Bhoхлаann (Poland), Dhakjizi (Germany), Jhenq ghat-lrei (England), Jidraailrei (Italy), Prowtrowngraah (Portugal), but if such names end in a high-falling-tone syllable then modification usually occurs. The following are some examples

Faatlraannshayx = France

Mrakshayghohx = Mexico

Mreelreighinnx = U.S.A.

(Xrapzung gwok being usually cut off for abbreviation).

Ngrohlrohshihx = Russia

(Now Showlrynn 蘇聯 unmodified).

Holland, however, occupies a special category, as it is transliterated into Xrohlraann 荷蘭 but pronounced as Xrohlhaan (or Xrohlraannx) in imitation of what the Cantonese believed to be the correct pitch in the foreign language. As Holland has had a rather long commercial connection with the Cantonese her name must have a longer history in the dialect than the transliterated names of other European countries. For some European countries which have been trading with China for a long while before China thought of printing a map of the world in Chinese, special Cantonese names have been given to them, and these are modified:-

Thaahkreyv 花旗

= of the U.S.A. (Flowery flag).

Fratlhaanshayx 佛蘭西 = France.

Shayjreongv 西洋 = Portuguese of Macanese
(West Ocean).

Xrunq mrowv 紅毛 = English or British (Red Hair).

Names of countries in Asia long known by the Cantonese are, of course, modified.

✓ Cimlrohv = Siam. 暹羅

✓ Nraammjreong(v) = South Sea of Malaya. 南洋

✓ Qhomnraammv = Annam of Indo-China. 安南

✓ Zhaahxwraahv = Java. 渣華

✓ iii. Names of cities and towns of China are unmodified so that we have the following examples:-

✓ Bhakghenq = Peking
(but in Ghengx xei 京戲 Capital or Northern-style
Drama, modification occurs)

Gworngzhaw = Canton
(but when this is the name of a familiar shop or
restaurant modification occurs. Another name for
Canton is 'Saarng-sreanq' 'provincial city' which
is often modified to Saarng-sreanqv, as it is the
'home' capital after all).

✓ Nraammghenq = Nanking

When, however, we have familiar transliterated names of foreign lands, or transliterated names with a high falling tone in the last syllable, or familiar Chinese names (of long standing) for foreign places (as opposed to transliterated names) modification occurs.

Beinhaang 庇能 = Penang
(or Beinhang)

Ghatlrungbhohx = Kuala Lumpur
吉隆坡

Grau Ghamshaannx = San Francisco
舊金山

Lreonndheonnx = London
倫敦

Mrokshih fhohx = Moscow

莫斯科

Shanngaabhohx = Singapore

新加坡

Shann Ghammshaannx = Melbourne

新金山

Whanngohxwraahv = Vancouver

溫哥華

iv. Names of places and streets.

Booxeng Fhonqx 寶慶坊

Chatzirmruuiv 七姊妹

Draaishann Ghaayx 大新街

Fhaahdrai > Fhaahdreiv 花柳

Fhaah-taapv 花塔

Ghuk-frauv 穀埠

Jreong Xrongv 楊巷

Lraizhihx Whaannx 荔枝灣

Lrohghonqx Drungv 羅岡洞

Mraae-frauv 米埠

Nraammhah Xronqv 南北行

Ngrr-shinn Mruunnv 五仙門

Shaahraghaannx 沙間

Shaahxrohv 沙河

Shannsreanqv 新城

Srapshaamm Xronqv 十三行

Whuuhjhih Xronqv 烏衣巷

Wraahlramm Zriv 華林寺

Wrenqwraah Lreev 榮華里

Wronqvshaahx 黃沙

N.B. All the older names for streets, lanes, etc., are modified, such as fhonqx, ghaayx, lreev, xrongv and xronqv;

but modern streets and roads given the names 'drou' 道 and 'lrou' 路 are not modified.

v. Names of shops:-

Creong Taaiv 祥泰

Draai Shannx 大新

Ghow Shenqx 高陞

Gworng Zhawx 廣州

Jri Xrapv 義合

Nraamm Jrynnv 南園

Shaamm Dhohx 三多

Shann Wraahv 新華

Shanq Lreiv 生利

Shinn Shihx 先施

Wraahmreev 華美

Wrerng Qhonnx 永安

Xrunq Faaiv 鴻發

Zhann Gwhonqx 真光

Familiar last syllables for shop names are 昌 Cheong

..... 生 Shanqx, 和 Wrohv, 隆 Lrunqv,

..... 發 Faatv, 泰 Taaiv, etc. - all modified.

There is, however, a last syllable of disyllabic shop-names, in high falling tone, which does not seem to take to modification easily. I am referring to shops with names like Bhakghenq (Peking) and Nraammghenq (Nanking). Probably these unmodified place-names help to prevent their modification even when they are used as names of shops.

In the case of trisyllabic shop-names (usually) modification does not occur, as such long names are rare in Cantonese and so unless a shop has a name of very long-standing modification is not to be expected.

f. Parts of the body and illnesses and maladies.

i. Parts of the body.

bhann zirx = penis (tabooed except in nursery).

bhinnx = queue, pigtail.

breilreongv = bridge of the nose.

creongv = intestines.

geok = leg or foot, unmodified.¹

but geokgwhaahx = calf of leg is modified.

baatzrigeok(v) = turned out feet (and dau crung
crungv = turned in feet).

zhyh geokv = pig's trotter.

jhiw = waist, but it also means kidney of animals, then
it is modified, as in zhyhjhiwx 'pig's kidney'

jreongv = liver of animal or fowl.

jrir = ear

but jrirzaedheongx } = tip of ear }
or jrirdeor zhimmx } all
} Modified.
jrirzhyhx = lobe of ear }

lrei = tongue but lreitroyx = furze of tongue, is
modified.

mrin = face, but 'draai mrinv' or 'bee mrinv' 'doing a
great favour' is modified.

mrinphuuyx = shape of face.

mrinzhyhx = cheek

mrinzhyhxahannx = rounded part of cheek.

ngraarn = eye

but ngraarn braakv = white of eye }
ngraarn jhapmrowv = eyelashes } all
ngraarn zhyhx = pupil of eye } modified.
and daughayx ngraarnv = squinting eyes }

sao = hand

but saogwhaahx = upper arm, is modified.

1. Unmodified names of parts of the body are underlined.

saozir ghunq = thumb

but saozir mreex = little finger, which is also called 'ngaetoodreiv'; and 'saozir zhimmx' which means 'tip of finger' are modified.

shammx = heart; also shammdreiv = one's nature, disposition.

shannx = body.

shattrawghohx = knee.

sran = kidney (human) but 'ghay sranv' (or 'krarnv') 'chicken gizzard' in whichever pronunciation is modified.

sreong-ngrr-cynv-xraa-ngrr-cynv = middle portion of the shin.

traw = head, but 'lruktrawv' (lit. green head = wife's lover) is modified.

troo = stomach, unless it is 'zhyh troov' = pig's stomach, or 'ngraw troov' = ox's stomach, then it is modified.

trunqjrannv = pupil of eye.

xraulrung = throat, but xraulraarmv = Adam's apple, and xrauwratv = tonsils, are modified.

zirghunqx = womb.

ii. Illnesses and maladies.

cheot drauv = smallpox

cheot mraahv = measles

faat fhunqx = leprosy

jhiwx breang = kidney trouble

laat lhei = sort of ringworm in scalp

nghang = bulgy growth around ankle, heel, wrist, etc.

ngraarn thiwx zhammx = sty

shaanq chonqx = a boil

shaanq (or xee) fhunqmrokv = urticaria

shaanq lrawv = tumour

shaanq lreakv)
or sheanq gearng lreakv) = goitre

shaanq wratv = enlarged gland

wronqv sreik = jaundice.

g. Food and Drink

i. Native kind of food and drink.

bearng ghonnx = biscuits.

bearng seoiv = cake crumbs.

bhaawx = unleavened rolls with filling.

braakjrawv = soya sauce.

brin fraanv = unceremonious meal (not specially prepared for an honoured guest).

chaah-shiwx = roast pork-strips.

chawxjrawv = soya sauce.

crannprey-mruuyv = pickled plums.

draanv = egg.

draanv wronqv = yolk.
(sheonqx wronqv = double-yolked (egg)).

dran jrynntrayv = stewed pork.

fhaannsryh ghonnx = dried sweet-potato strips.

frey zhyh nhan = fatty pork.

gao draai gwraiv = nine big dishes.

ghaydraanghowx = sponge cake.

ghaykrarnv)
ghaysrat(nv) = chicken gizzard.

gwuun-trawv = tinned foods.

jhat-ghayx-shaamm-mreiv = triple dishes made from chicken.

jreah shihx = shredded coconut.

jryh-jrynnv = fish-ball.

penis
 jryh-pinv = fish slices.

lraap-creonqv = sausages.

lraap-mreiv = preserved meats.

lraarmv-gokv } = pickled olive in halves.
 lraarmv-sriv }

lraizhihx-ghonnx = dried laichees.

lrungngraarnv-ghonnx = dried lrung-ngraarnv.

mrakpinv = oats.

ngrrxheonqx = spices.

saatkreaahmraarv = a kind of pastry.

shaamm-zhenqx = thrice distilled spirit.

sheong-zhenqx = twice distilled spirit.

shiwjreaiv = midnight meal.

shiwmmaarv = a kind of steamed pastry.

showxtronqv = a kind of sweet.

shynn-mruuyv = crystalized green plums.

sio-frungv bearing = little biscuits with centres.

sytghowx = ice cream.

tronqv = sweets.

wrannthannx = steamed pastry in soup.

wruuhzhiw mruutv = pepper.

xheong-lriuv = spices.

xraamm draanv = salted egg.

xraamv = filling of pastry or unleavened rolls.

zaattrayv = stuffed trotter of pig.

zhyh creonqv = pig's intestines.

zhyh geokv = pig's trotter.

zhyh jhiwx = pig's kidney.

zhyh jreonv = pig's liver.

zhyh toov = pig's stomach.

zhyh zhaanqtrayv = pig's foot.

zoochaannx = breakfast.

zraap-seoiv = chopsuey.

zungv = dumpling.

ii. Transliterated names of food and drink.

bratlhaakdreiv = brandy.

dhohxsriv = toast.

gaafhea = coffee.

greilhim = cream.

shaammrannzriv = sandwich.

whayxsriv) = whisky.
or whayxsrigreiv)

zhihxsriv = cheese.

h. Fruits, nuts, plants, trees, herbs, and vegetables.

i. Fruits and nuts.

craanqv = oranges.

fhaahxshanqx = ground nut.

fhunqlreotv = chestnut.

ghammx = tangerine orange.

ghayshammorihv = a small persimmon.

ghongnhim = an edible berry.

jreonqtrowv = willow peach (carambola).

lraizhihx = laichee.

Lreoesung-mhonqx = Mango (from Luzon transliterated).

lrunggraarnv = Cantonese fruit.

mraartrayv = water chestnut.

Nraammwraah-lreev = plums (from Nraamm-wraah).

nrammcrihv = soft persimmon.

nrenqmhung = lemon (transliteration).

prannprohv = a fruit like chestnut when cooked.

prowtrayv = grapes (or prowtrayzir, unmodified).

prowtrowv = a fruit.

seeccrihv = hard persimmon.

shaahlreyv = a brown pear.

Shaahtrinn jrawv = pomelo (from Shatin).

wronqpreyv = a fruit.

zhiwx = banana.

ii. Plants, trees, herbs and vegetables.

braiv = seed of weed.
(or shekbraiv)

crung = pine unmodified¹

but crung mhaau = pine needles, is modified.

crung xheonqx = resin.

dhonggwhayx = a Chinese herb.

fhaahx fraanv = petals.

fhaahx shamx = middle (heart) of a flower.

fhaahxtokv = sepals.

fhaannsryhv = sweet potato.

fhaannxkreahv = tomato.

gaailraannv = a green vegetable like turnip tops.

gaoccoiv = leeks.

gotv = an edible root.

1. Unmodified names of this section are underlined.

jreahv = coco-nut.

lhawx = betel leaves, for chewing with the betel-nuts.
(or cheang-lhawx)

mraaodhaahhx = peony.

mrukwaanv-zir = a dried fruit which produces lather
for washing fine silks (sapindus mukorossi
gaertu).

seoeshinnx = narcissus.

sry = tree
but sryshaawx = top of tree
sryshannx = trunk
sryzhihx = branches, twigs } are modified.

wronqgwhaahx = cucumber.

zirtraannv = wistaria.

1. Fish and Fowl

1. Fish (including shell fish).

ghammjryhv = gold fish.

jryhv = fish.

krenq jryh¹ = whale (N.B. a big fish and unfamiliar).

lrunqxaahx = lobster.

praanqkreyv = a small crab.

shaahjryhv = shark.

toolreanqjryhv = a kind of dace.

trinnlrohv = snail.

wronqfhaahx = a kind of fish.

wronqzraapv = a kind of fish.

xhaahx = prawn or shrimp.

xhaahx-mrowx = small shrimps.

1. Unmodified names of this section are underlined.

but xraae = crab (N.B. low rising tone)
 but xraae-krimmv = pincer of crab is modified.

zhayxjryhv = a kind of small fish.

ii. Fowl.

bhaannxghawx = turtle-dove.

braakgaapv = pigeon or dove.

braakjinv = canary.

diujryhlronqv = kingfisher.

frungv = phoenix.

ghayx = chicken.

ghayghunqx = cockerel.

ghay xrongv = pullet.

jinv = swallow.

(or jinv(v)-zir)

mraahzeokv = sparrow.

ngaapv = duck.

ngrohv = goose.

prang

(or draaipraangnrio) = roc (large, mythical bird, less familiar than the phoenix).

qhamm cheonnx = quail.

qhangghohx

(or nghangghohx) = a kind of talking bird, a parrot.

shaahzheoyx = a kind of bird.

wraamreyv = thrush.

wrohphaahzeokv = rice bird.

wronqnghanqx = oriole.

xrokv = crane, stork.

xurngzeokv = peacock.

zeagwhuuhx = partridge.

zeokv = bird.

zhyhsirzraahv = black thrush.

j. Animals, reptiles and insects.

i. Animals.

craaylronqv = wolf.

gao¹ = dog (unmodified though a familiar domestic animal. N.B. a middle rising tone).

jreongv = sheep
 {mrinnjreongv = woolly sheep
 coo-jreongv } = goat
 shaannjreongv }

not in data
of whole song

kreylreonny = unicorn.

lreoyv = donkey.
 (lreoyzirx or lreoyzhi in nursery language²).

lroofuur = tiger (cf. gao; 'uur' is a middle rising tone).

lroosyr = rat, mouse (cf. gao; 'syr' is a middle rising tone).

lruk v = deer.

mraar = horse (cf. gao); a low rising tone)

mraarlrawx = monkey.

mraawx = cat.

ngraw(v) = ox, cow.

cf. 牛 牛 - 113

shihx = lion.
 (or shihzir)

wronggheanqx = a small brown antelope.

xrunqjrannv = bear.

zhyhx = pig.

1. Unmodified names of this section are underlined.

2. The nursery rhyme says 'Jhiwxjhi lreoyzhi'.

ii. Reptiles and insects.

gaapgwaaiv = a kind of toad.
(or gapgwaaiv).

graatzraatv = cockroach.

geokjryhv
(or seoejryhv) = turtle.

gwhayx = tortoise.

jrimmsreahv = small lizard.

krammkreoyv = toad.

krammlrowv = spider
(krammlrowshihmrornx = spider's web).

mraarngv = grasshopper.

mratv } = bee.
mratfhunqx }

ngraangxok-crungv = beetle.

sei-geok sreahv = a big lizard.

trinngghayx = frog.

wrohcrungv = edible insect (lit. rice insect).

wruuhdripv = butterfly.

zhihzhhyhx = small spider.

zhukzitiv = cricket.

k. Familiar persons or objects, connected with the house
and home.

i. Persons.

canghaah lronqv = servants of relatives-by-marriage.

draaikrarmv = women accompanying a bride.

ghaah-trenq-lokv = anything or activity that is
within the scope of enjoyment by the family
circle.

jreah mruunnv = temporarily employed men-servants at
a wedding.

jryt-prohv = woman still in confinement.

nraamm-xaakv = male guest.

nreoe-xaakv } = female guest.
 tronq-xaakv }

pruuy-jrytv = midwife or woman-servant to a mother
 before and after childbirth.

zhiih-xaakv = (receiver of guests) master of ceremonies
 on special occasions in the home, or business-
 manager in a monastery.

ii. Objects, including parts of house, furniture, persons
 effects, things found in a house, etc.

baak jripv cheonqx = shutters.
 (or paakjripv cheonqx)

bhat-kraw-jrannv = a back scratcher.

bhinnx-praayv = bunch of hair for thickening and
 lengthening one's pigtail.

bhiwx = watch.

bholhei = glass (transliteration).

breijhin~~nx~~-wruuhv = snuff bottle.

breiv = fine comb.

cearngtipv = invitation card.

ceong-pinv = gramophone records.

chaahx = fork.

chaannxfronqv = dining room.
 (or chaannxtheanqx).

cheonqxmruunnv = window.

craahgheyx = tea table.

craahwruuhv = tea pot.

craahwruuhlho = Chinese tea-cosy.

creonqshaammx = long gown.

crihghanqx = spoon.

crihtronqv = ancestral hall in village.

crinnv = money.

cryhfronqv = kitchen.

crynnzhannxgheyx = television.

daaiv = belt, sash.

dang¹ = stool.

(but braak baarndangv = a card in Chinese dominoes is modified).

daolrenqv = 5 cent piece.

dhawtroov = purse in girdle.

deoiv = couplet usually written on a pair of scrolls.

dhanqx = lamp, light.

dhowx = knife.

draai lhawx = overcoat.

dreiv = floor, ground.

dreixraav = floor, ground, ground-floor.

dreizhinxx = carpet, rug.

drinwraav = telephone.

dripv = plate.

fanfronqv = bedroom.

fhaah jrynnv = garden.

fhaahprenqv)
fhaahzheonnx) = vase.

fhunglrowv = oven.

fronqv = room.

gai-ngaatv = thick pin for holding up the knob of hair
 at the back.

gearng-daaiv = neck-tie.

gearng-ghannx = scarf.

1. Unmodified names are underlined.

gearng-lrinv = necklace.

ghaayx = street.

ghammxzae = a gold coin, a sovereign.

ghaymrow-souv = feather duster.

jerngseong(v)gheyx = camera.

jhinnxzae = cigarette.

jirdinv } = flat cushion.
jirzinv }

jreongq-ghammx sinv = gold thread for embroidery.

jrirlrawv = first floor.

jrir-waatv = pin for scratching head and cleaning ears.

jrir-wraannv = ear-rings.

jrukv = mattress
(or jruk-zir)

kauv = clasp.

kreah lrawv = verandah, balcony.

longv = a frame, a shelf.

lraammv = basket.

lrawv = upstairs.

lrimmv = curtain.

mhan-zeongv = mosquito net.
(or mrannx-zeongv).

mheahx-daaiv = a square cloth with four long straps
for strapping a baby to one's back.

mraargwaav = short jacket over long gown.
(or mraarkwaav)

mrak-jrinv = ink slab.

mrenq-pinv = visiting card.
(or mrenq-tipv)

mrin-pruunnv = wash basin.

mrouv = hat.

mrowghannx = towel.

mruunn = door

(also draai-mruunn = main door

but contrast

crinn-mruunnv = front door

wraanq-mruunnv = side door

xrau-mruunnv = back door

} all modified)

mruunn-gwhuunnx = guardian spirit of the door.

ngaakv = bracelet.

nghaachaahx = a long pole with a branched twig on one end for reaching up for things.

ngraah-caatv = tooth-brush.

ngraarbuuiv = roof.

ngraarh-geangv = spectacles.

ngrann-bhaawx = purse.

nggranncrinnv = dollar.

ngrrmrei-gaav = cruets on stand.

preemrinv = top side of quilt.

preedhaannx = sheet tacked on quilt.

prenqfhunqx = screen.

preyv = fur-coat, fur-lined coat.

saaipraanqv = flat roof top.

sao-bhiwx = wristwatch.

sao-ghannx = face flannel.

sao-ghannxzae = handkerchief.

sao-mratv } = gloves.

sao-touv }

seongv = portrait, photograph.

shaammfhanlrukuv = 5 cent piece.

shaamm-lrawv = second floor.

shaammx = jacket, clothing.

sheonqxrowv = 20 cent piece.

shinnx = cent (transliteration).
(or shinnxsriv)

shohx = comb.

srann-xham = niche for an idol or a spirit.

srannzyrpraayv = ancestral tablet.

taatzhaanqx-xraayv = shoe with a collapsed heel, said
of impoverished families still living in
fashionable part (west) of Canton.

thinnpraanqv = flat roof top.

thinntroyv = flat-roof garden.

thohx-xraayv = slippers.

toodreiv = Earth-god.

trowwraav = pictures, paintings.

trowzheonqx = a seal.

troyv = table.

(baatshinnx-troyv = large square carved blackwood
table).

wraarnlryynv = obituary couplet.

wraykwrannv = apron.

xaaktheanqx = sitting room, parlour.
(or theanqx)

xraay-bratv) = shoe horn.
xraay-chawx)

xraay-jreongv = cut-out paper pattern for making shoes

xrohbaawx = purse. 荷包

zheahx = umbrella.

zheonnx = bottle.

zhuk-lrimmv = a bamboo blind.

zoo-shinnx = ancestors (spirits of).

1. Familiar persons, objects, concepts, abstract nouns, material nouns, weights, measures, capacity etc., not directly connected with the house and home.

1. Persons.

baakjreahxghunqx = old man.

baakjreahxprohv = old woman.

craakv = thief, robber.

fhaahdaanv
(or fhaahdraanv) = female impersonator or actress in traditional drama.

ghaammfraanv = gaol-bird.

gwhanndreolv = troops.

lraanvzae = ruffian, gangster.

lroodraaiv-ghunqx = old man.

lroodraaiv-prohv } = old woman.
lroo taaiprohv }

lruk-trawv = wife's lover or a woman's lover.

mreifhann-chayx = fiancée.

mreifhann-fhuuhx = fiancé.

mreifhannx = the affianced.

mrowlraaiv = an undesirable character.

mruuy-jrannv = the go-between.

nraamm-jrannv = men.

nreoe-jrannv = women.

saanvzae = an unemployed, usually connected with rackets.

sailooghohx } = little child.
saimhanzae }

searng-prohv = female medium.
(or mran-searng-prohv)

shann-faat-croyv = newly-rich person.

shann-lrongv } = bridegroom.
shann lrong-ghohx }

shann nreongv = bride.

shyhjraov = fellow-student.

siojrannv = small men (usually evil).

siomhohx = pick-pocket.

srohgwahahx = a fool, a sod.

xhatjhi = beggar.
(or xhatjrihx)

khoyfhongx-ngraw(v) = the unrequited pioneer or a person who is dropped after he has rendered much service.

11. Objects, concepts, etc.

bhaahxsriv
(or bhaasriv) = bus (transliteration).

bhak-fhungx = north wind, dry cold weather.
(fhaann bhak-fhungx).

bhat-gaav } = ^{stand} frame for resting brushes on.
bhat-shengx }

bhat-taapv = caps for brushes.

bhenq-srynnv = troop ship or war ship.

braak-creahv = sort of white gaberdine.

braanv = samples.

cealrouv = a road up a rise or hill.

chat-zrekv = 7th day of the 7th Moon, a festival.

cheahx = car, carriage.

cheahxzae = rickshaw.

Chengnrinn-wruuiv = Y.M.C.A.

cheonn-thinnx = Spring.

cheonqx = rifle, pistol, etc.
(sao-cheonqx = pistol).

/cheonqx mraarv = bullets, shots.

chimmx = posture of kneeling on one knee, as in 'daar
go chimmx' 'making the posture of kneeling on
one knee'.

/craahcraahv = cymbals.

daamthiwx = bamboo or wooden rod for carrying loads
across shoulder.

daamv = a load.

dhaa = dozen (transliteration).

/dhaanncheahx = bicycle.

dhangx-mrayv = riddles.

/dheksriv = taxi (transliteration).

/dong-piuv = pawn-shop ticket.

dreakv = a pipe (musical instrument)

driuv = a tune.

droimruuiv = tortoise shell (literary droi-mrou).
(or droumruuiv)

drouv = ferry, barge.

drouv = measurements.

drynv = satin.

faai-cheahx = express train.

fhaannxthaannx = fantan, a kind of game (in gambling).

fhonqx-gaakv = squares.

fhungshek = weather, weather forecast.

fhungshenqx = news, signs (of danger or safety).

fhungthaai (rural) [probably from draai fhung = big
wind, in reverse order] = typhoon.

fuur-craahv = Chinese medicine (in children's language)

gaiv-zae = plot, trick.

gaaklrey-lreonnseav = neighbours.

ghaammx = prison.

ghaaw lreonnv
(or thaai, transliteration) = tyre.

/ghaay fhongx = neighbours, people in same street or locality.

ghammx = gold.

ghunq-jrynnv = (public) botanical garden.

/ghungqhonn-grukv = police station.

goklhoktrawv } = corner.
goktrawv }

graiv = a chat in 'khenq graiv'.

griuv = sedan chair.

gwhuunnwraav = Mandarin.

gwuurwruunv = curios.

jhihgrukv = hospital, public dispensary.

jhihjrynv = hospital.

jratgei-brouv = diary.

jratgwhonqx } = the sun, sunlight.
jrattrawv }

jrat-srynnv = day-boat.

jratv = the sun.

jrawzeng-grukv = post-office.

jrea-srynnv = night boat.

jreok-jrynnv = tablets (medicine balls).

jreok-saanv = (medicinal) powder.

jri-jrinnv = a 2-stringed instrument, also called 'ngrihnghi'.

jruk v = jade.

jrungv = woollen material.

jrytv = the moon.

laabhaahx
(or lhaahbhaah) = a trumpet.

lhaang = knitting wool (transliterated from 'laine'?).

lhunqx = hole, cavity.

lreydrangv = scales.

lriuv = dress material.

lrohv = gong.

mhai = mile (transliteration).

mraaw lriwv = thatched hut.

mrannv = essay, article.

mratgrinv = things, objects.

mriuv = temple.

mruk-seoiv = bits of wood, odds and ends.

mruk-xhonqx = saw-dust.

nraammfhunqx = south wind blowing, damp weather.
(fhaann nrammfhunqx).

nraammfhunqx thinnx = moist weather.

ngrannv = silver, money.

ngrihnghi = a 2-stringed musical instrument, also
called 'jri-jrinnv'.

paau-mraarv = bullets, shots.

po-jratv = inauspicious day.

pou-bhiwx = a kind of raffle ticket for monetary prize

praaybrinv = plague of praise for able doctors or good
public service.

praaw-craayv = wood shavings.

preypraahv = the pyipa, a musical instrument.

seon-caapv = letter holder, usually hanging on the wall.

seon-zaatv = book of model letters.

shaann-bhiwx = a kind of raffle ticket for a monetary prize.

shaanndhunq-crawv = Shantung silk.

shaannwruuhv = coral.

shihx = a poem.

shiw = a flute.

shyhfhonqx-pouv = book-sellers and stationers.

shyh-jrynv = school.

shyh-sheonq = book-box.

sin-lrokv = network bag.

siu-wraav = a joke.

sor-lrin = chains.

sridhaammx = stamp (transliteration).
(or sridhaam)

sridhohx = store (transliteration).
(or sridho)

srigrin = inside of a watch, machine or engine.

thip = tips (transliteration, in O'Melia's 'First Year Cantonese').

thohx-srynnv = tugboat.

tokpruunnv = tray.

tranqtriwv = a cane (rattan).

trayv = question, title of essay, etc.

trenqv = kind, type, sort, as in 'nhi trenqv zir'
'this kind of paper'.

Trongwraav = Cantonese.

trunqghukzryv = co-tenant.

wraanq-ngraakv = horizontal scroll in frame or horizontal board with characters.

wraanqseoedrouv = cross-river ferry.

wraiiv = a seat.

wranhsreakv = marble.

wrongcreahv = a sort of brown gaberdine.

wruuh-krammv = a musical instrument.

wruuiv = club, society.

xheoyx = village market.

xoo-jratv = auspicious day.

xrapv = box.

xrunq-seontrungv = red pillar box.

zaadraanv = bomb.

zhanqx = a musical instrument.

zhyhx = a pearl.

zoo-cheahx = morning train.

zribrouv = exercise book, copy book.

zrigaakv = model characters in squares for practising writing.

zritipv = model characters for practice of calligraphy

zriv = monastery.

zrongfong(v) = conditions, circumstances rarely modified, but it is modified, according to S.L. Wong's Syllabary, p. 43.

zrongv = appeal to court, accusation.

zrynv = biography.
(or lritzrynv)

zynv = a turn, a turn round, a moment as in 'daar go synv' 'in a moment'.

m. Games and things used at games.

bhatdoojhuqx = heavy-based doll used to point out
(or zeeizaonrenqv) next drinker at drinking bouts

bho = ball (transliteration).

chin^uchawx = swing.

crawv = tally (in games).

fhungzhanqx = kite.

ghunqxzae = doll.

jinv } = shuttlecock.
jinvzir }

krawv = ball.

mraahzeokv = Majong.

(but thinngao 'Chinese Dominoes' not modified, 'gao'
in the middle rising tone).

paauzreongv = fire-crackers.

phea praayv = (pair?) playing cards (foreign).

saarmraanqghayx } = to play at blind man's bluff.
(or z(h)ukmraanqghayx)

shenggwuunntrowv = dice game on a chart of offices
of all official ranks.

zaopruunnv = roulette.
(or lreonnpruunnv)

z(h)ukjrihxjrannx = to play at catching.

z(h)ukkreyv = to play chess.

zirjriwv = kite.

zirpraayv = playing cards (usually said of native kind,
to be distinguished from foreign kind)

pe prai hui hui

n. Professions, jobs, crafts, positions or ranks, tools, implements, etc. and familiar terms in crafts, business or professions.

i. Professions, jobs, crafts, positions or ranks.

bhok-zhaayx = a teacher, a tutor (who used to hit one on the head).

bhongbraanv = Inspector of police (a Hongkong term).

chaayx = policeman (old term, still used in Hongkong).

cheahx-fhuuhx = chauffeur.

(zrou) cheonqx = (to be) a substitute in examinations, hence 'cearng cheonqx' means 'asking someone to do one's home work or examination'.

cryhv = cook, chef.

dhaamm-daamv (gea) } = porter, coolie, or hawker.
or thiw-daamv (gea) }

draai-bhaannx = manager (a Hongkong term).

draai-cheahx = Chief engineer (a Hongkong term).

draai-gaiv = purser (a Hongkong term).

draai krarmv = temporarily employed women-servants at a wedding.

drou-ghaahx = Taoist.

fortrawv = cook (a Hongkong term).

ghannbhaannx = retainers, followers.

griuv-fhuuhx = (sedan) chair-coolie.

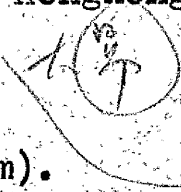
(zrou) gwhayx = (to be) a procurer.

gwhuulhei = coolie, (transliteration).

gwuurn-ghunqx } = foreman.
gwuurn-ghunqx-trawv }

jhihshanqx = doctor.

jreahmrurnv = temporarily employed male-servants at a wedding.

- ~~jri-bhaannx~~ = Assistant-Manager (a Hongkong term).
~~jri-cheahx~~ = assistant-engineer (a Hongkong term).
~~jri-gaiv~~ = assistant purser (a Hongkong term).
 jryh-ghaahx = Confucianist.
 jrynv-zeorng = county magistrate, district officer.
 lhow-ghaahx = a spiv, an opportunist.
~~lraapsaap-bhongx~~ = sanitary inspector (a Hongkong term).
 lreotshihx = solicitor, barrister.
 (or zrongshihx) 
 mraaebraanv = compradore (a Hongkong term).
 mrukshihx = pastor.
 mruk zreongv = carpenter.
 mruuix = maid, slave-girl.
 ngrrzrokv = undertaker.
 prohmmaa = amah.
~~shihgwhuuhx~~^{tkm} = (Buddhist) nun.
 sear-zriv = clerk.
 shaanqjighaahx = businessmen.
 shihfruuv = master (of a craft).
 siofraanv = hawker, trader.
 sritrawv = master, boss.
 trong gwhuunn(x) = male-servants at ceremonious occasions.
 trowdraiv = apprentice.
 wraavghaahx = painter.
 wrohsreongv = (Buddhist) monk.
 xrau shaanqx = boy-servant.
 xrokshaanqx = pupil, student.

zhynn(x)mruunghaahx = specialist.

zrynriinnv-mruuix = young woman-servant.

zrynriinnv-zae = boy-servant.

zyrfraanv = cook (female).

zyrjrannv = master.

zyzokghaahx = writer.

ii. Tools, implements, etc.

co(v) = file, rarely modified, N.B. it is in the middle level tone. Modified according to S.L. Wong's Syllabary p.3 cf. geoi or geo = saw, unmodified, again a middle level tone.

creoyv = hammer.

dheanqx = nail.

fuurtrawv = axe.

✓ jheoyx = an awl.

✓ krimmv = tongs, pliers.

lrohghaanqx = a compass.

lrohshihxmhayx) = a screw-driver.
lrohshihxphayx)

lrohshihxzynv = a cork-screw.

mrov = a hand-mill.

praawv = a plane.

tranqpraayzheahx = shield (rattan).

zhunq xamv = a pounding arrangement worked by standing on one end of it.

zrokv = a chisel, a gouge.

iii. Familiar terms in business, craft or profession.

fhaahmraarv-zri = trade numerals.

ghaah-jrunqv = home-made.

ghungshihx = a company.

gwuurdhunqx = a share holder.

gwuurfranv = shares.

jreonqxronqv = foreign firm.

jrinngraanv = cash.

jrunqv (ngrann) = commission.

phinn(x)mruunnv, as in
'zrou phinnxmruunnv shaanqji
gea' or 'zao phinnxmruunnv
gea' } = dealing in undesirabl
business, or in some-
thing which contra-
venes the law.

poutrawv = shop.

seilrukv
or seilrukgeoiv } = the four-six style of parallel
prose.

Trunqserng-paaiv = scholars who follow the Torng-
cherng school. (桐城派)

Xonxrok-paaiv = Ching scholars who followed the style
of Hann writers.

xraay-ghammx = commission for getting one a flat,
house, etc.

xronqghaahx = expert in a trade or profession.

xronqv = firm, company.

zhynnxmruunnv = expert.

2. Classifiers and Adjectives.

a. Classifiers.

Only a few classifiers are modified.

jhat mreiv coi = a dish.

jhat ngraarnv dhanqx = a lamp (probably only a mistake mixing up the initial sounds of 'zaarn' and 'ngraarnv', 'zaarn' being the usual classifier for a lamp).

jhat ngraarnv dheanqx = a nail.

jhat ngraarnv zhamm = a needle.

jhat wraiv jrannxaak = a guest (spoken politely).

There are two words which are a kind of classifier and are modified.

jhat trenqv zir = a kind of paper.

jhat trunqv brei = a (tube of) nose, used to refer to a well-shaped straight nose.

According to Professor Chao in his Cantonese Primer p. 34, the demonstrative adjective 'gor' 'that' is but the modified form of the classifier 'go'. Of course, in Cantonese the classifiers, not used after numerals but preceding nouns without a numeral, can be equated with the English Indefinite Demonstrative Adjective 'the', thus, 'go jrann' 'the man'. It is easy to see how this use of 'go' 'the' can become 'gor' 'that' a definite demonstrative adjective. But for the other definite demonstrative adjective 'nhi' 'this', we cannot trace its origin from a Chinese word. It is a high-level-tone word.

b. Adjectives:— Most of the modified tone adjectives or

adjectival phrases I have noted are of the descriptive kind but there are also a few examples of numerals and shapes pronounced in the modified tones.

i.

bhat-thunq = unreasonable, unintelligent.

brok-preyv = touchy, over-sensitive.

caojreongv = ugly.

ceong gokv = slanting, like an angle.

chat-chat-baatv = almost complete.

crann-xirn-nraammv = long winded, boring, (originally the name of a Cantonese man).

creonq bhaannx (cheah(x)) = permanently hired rickshaw

creonq fhonq = rectangular, oblong.

creonq trunqv mrat = long stockings.

dhaann lriuv = flimsy make.

dhaannx = single.

dhengfhonq = square.

dhiwmhan = very spoiled, going into a huff easily.

drai jriv = second.

drai mreex = the last.

drai shaammx = third.

driudriuv-feng = dangling.

farn xrunqv = pink.
(or seoe xrunqv)

fhaah braakv (trawfaat) = grey (haired).

fhonq gaakv (brouv) = squared (exercise book).

fhuunn triwv (mrin) = wide strip (noodles).

fhuuyx = grey (colour).

gaanxronqv (brouv) = ruled (exercise book).

gaongraahv = scalloped (edge).

gwhuuh nreonqx geokv = a slope seen sideways from ground level.

jarnjratv = to be a recluse.

jhiwx = one, first.

jrào-lriuv = to have knowledge or learning.

kaalaav = double or divided stake; a double entendre, something between prongs of angle or in the space between two things.

laaimhaau = cheating.
(or laai mraawx)

lheang (zæ) = a mere boy, a little boy.

lraap-lraapv leng = bright, glistening.

lrapv-gam-lryn = very disorderly.

lreorngxhoyx = two-ply (wool), ambiguous.

lroo-draaiv = old, aged.

lroylrouv = foreign.

lyt zhaayx = behaving like a miser.

mhaah trawv = close together, as in 'mhaah trawv gam xoo' 'in very close friendship'.

mraah mraahv dreiv = so so, to be lenient.

mrenq ghunqx = famous (as a doctor).

mroo-wronqv-gwuurn = ungovernable, too independent.

mrow lraaiv = irresponsible.

mrh cir-jreongv = not proper in appearance, not doing the right thing.

mrh-shaamm mrh-seiv = unreliable, not orthodox, etc.

nghaam = correct, right.
(or nghaammx)

/ ngok jreahx = nasty, like a bully.

ngroixronqv = not well-versed in the business.

sai sheanqx = small-voiced, low voiced.

(contrast draai sheanq 'loud', unmodified).

/ shaamm chaahx (lrouxao) = 3 pronged road, a fork (road

shaammgok fruuhv = triangle, like a triangle.

shaammgrin trawv = 3 piece suit.

/ shaamm xhoyx ¹³ = 3 ply (wool).

shapshapshengshenqx = miscellaneous.

shayzhonqx = Western style (of clothes).

/ shawmreex = the last, in the end.

/ sheonq jripy = double blades, double set of propellers
etc.

/ sheonq lriuv = firm and strong make.

/ sheonq shenqx = initial consonant repeated (in
literary composition).

sheonqtokv = double row of petals.

sheonqxokv = double-shelled.

sheonqx = double.

shihmrowdraaijreongv = trying to look important.

shiwcheanqx = enamelled.

sifhonqx = square.

srihpaaix = fashionable, more often said of a person,
with a slight sense of ridicule.

srihxhenqx = fashionable, more often said of things
than of persons.

/ thoyshanqx = born with certain abnormal or special
features.

tronq-zhonqx = Chinese style (of clothes).

wraat-trawv = cunning, to be an opportunist.

/ xoo-jrannsriv = kind, good-natured.

/ xoo-jreongv = good looking, beautiful.

xo^h mruunnv = to have a vice or a hobby.

/ xraushaanqx = young, youthful.

/ zhayxhunqx = (house) empty, uninhabited.

/ zhihghunqx = flimsy, not well made.

/ zhihzhaawx = very vocal or talkative.

zorjhaau = left-handed or left-footed.
(or zorjhaawx)

zreong-ngraahv = ivory.

11. Adjectives and adjectival phrases connected with size, distance, etc. are modified when the diminutive sense is present. (Such phrases are adverbial when taken as complete phrases.) Probably the modification is caused by the dropping of the high level tone suffix jrihx which originally supplied the diminutive connotation.

/ dhek gam creonqx = very short.

/ dhek gam dhohx (or dheo) = very little.

dhek gam jryrnx = a very short distance, very near.

/ dhek gam nroiv = a short while.

dhek gam nroix = a very little while.

mroo^h gee brokv zhea = not very thin.

/ mroo gee creongv zhea = not very long.

mroo gee crurngv zhea = not very heavy.

/ mroo gee dhohx zhea = not very much.

/ mroo gee draaiv zhea = not very big.

/ mroo gee fuutv zhea = not very wide.

mroo gee gwaiv zhea = not very expensive.

mroo gee jritv zhea = not very hot.

mroo gee jryrnv zhea = not very far.

mroo gee nroiv zhea = not a long time at all.

mroo gee nroiv (or nroix) = after a little while.

mroo gee nroix zhea = only a very short while.

xrai gam creonqv zaa = only so long (i.e. not long).

xrai gam creonqx zaa = only so very short.

xrai gam crurngv zaa = only this weight (not heavier).

xrai gam dhohx zaa = only so much (no more).

xrai gam draaiv zaa = only so big (not bigger).

xrai gam draaix zaa = only so very small.

xrai gam fuutv zaa = only so wide (not wider).

xrai gam xrao(v) zaa = only so thick (not thicker).

xrai gam zaakv zaa = only so wide, only this width, no wider.

444 Repetition of an adjective is used to denote the sense 'rather, a little, so and so' if the modified tone occurs in the second syllable of the repetitive adjective. On the other hand if the modified tone occurs (ignoring the effect of tone-sandhi) in the first syllable of such a repetitive adjective, then the meaning 'very' is indicated instead. This order of the 'emphasis' as denoted by modification of tone recalls the same practice in Siamese as mentioned in Chapter III p. 58 .

braakbraakv dreiv = rather white.

ceakceakv dreiv = slightly painful.

chowchowx dreiv = rather rough, rather unpolished,
not specially prepared (meal for guest).

creongcreongv dreiv = rather long.

dhohdhohx dreiv = rather many, rather much.

draaidraaiv dreiv = rather big.

draamdraamv dreiv = rather cool to one's friends,
relatives, etc.

dreondreov dreiv = rather blunt, or stupid.

dryndrynv dreiv = rather blunt (said of a knife).

dungdungv dreiv = rather cold.

graugrauv dreiv = rather old.

jritjritv dreiv = rather hot.

jryrnjryrnv dreiv = rather far.

lraanlraanv dreiv = rather soft, or rather too ripe.

lraarnglraarngv dreiv = rather cold.

lreonglreongv dreiv = rather cool.

lytlytv dreiv = rather inferior in quality.

manmanv dreiv = rather near the edge, near the end of
one's resources.

mraahmraahv dreiv = so so.

mruurnmruurnv dreiv = rather full.

naatnaatv dreiv = rather scalding.

nryrnnyrnv dreiv = slightly warm.

qamqamv dreiv = rather dark.

saisaiv dreiv = rather small.

shannshannx dreiv = rather new.

siusiu dreiv = smiling(ly).

sratsratv dreiv = rather solid.

- traarmtraarmv dreiv = not salt enough, rather cool (to friends, relatives, etc.).
- / trimmtrimmv dreiv = slightly sweet.
- wraatwraatv dreiv = rather slippery, rather smooth.
- / xheongxheongx dreiv = rather fragrant.
- xotxotv dreiv = rather thirsty.
- xraannxraannv dreiv = not taken seriously.
- xrungxrunqv dreiv = rather red.
- zaakzaakv dreiv = rather harrow.
- zrengzrengv dreiv = rather quiet (also quietly, secretly, stealthily).
- zrukzruk v dreiv = rather vulgar.
- baakvbaakjim = very mischievous.
- braakvbraak = very white.
- brokvbrok = very thin, however thin.
- creonqvcreonq = very long.
- crurngerurng = very heavy
- / dhohxdhoh = very many, very much.
- / faaivfaai = very fast.
- fuutvfuut = very wide.
- / ghowxghow = very tall, very high.
- / gwaanvgwaan-sruk = very intimate, very used to.
- gwhonqxgwhonq = very bright.
- gwruiivgwruii = however tired.
- / jauvjausai = very fine (in texture).
- jreavjrea = however late at night.
- jritvjrit = very hot.
- jrukvjrukarn = very anxious, or very impatient.

jryrnvjryrn = very soft (to the touch).

jryrnvjryrn = however far.

jryrnvjryrnsruk = very soft (to the touch).

krannvkrannlrek = very industrious, however industriou

lraanvlraan = very broken, very soft.

lraarngvlraarng = however cold.

lrenqvlrenqlrei = very clever, very intelligent,
however clever.

lrokvlroklrek = putting in great effort, however much
effort.

lroovlroo = very cold.

lroovlroosrat = very honest, very open.

lytvlyt = very inferior in quality.

mraanvmraan = very slow.

naatvnaat = very hot (scalding).

nraannvnraan = however difficult.

nrammvnramm = very soft (to the touch).

nreivnrei = very greasy.

nroivnroi = however long a time.

ngaanvngaan = very late, however late.

ngokvngkojreahx = very unreasonable, bullying.

ngraangvngraang = very hard (to the touch), however
hard.

qhonnxqhonnlok = very happy and contented.

saivsai = very small.

shannxshann = very new.

shannxshannshinn = very fresh.

shunqxshunqjrung = in a very leisurely manner.

sratvsrat = very tight, very full.

srukvsruk = very well-cooked.

traarmvtraamm = very insipid taste.

/ trimmvtrimm = very sweet.

wraaivwraai = very bad.

xotvxot = however thirsty.

xrauvxraushaanqx = however young.

/ xrunqvrunq = very red.

zaakvzaak = very narrow.

zengvzeng = very exactly, right in position.

zhenqxzhenqsrann = very well, healthy.

zrengvzreng = very quiet.

zrivzrijrinn = very comfortable.

3. Verbs.

Single-syllable verbs spoken in modified tones as well as verbal compounds, generally in the form of verb + noun, denoting a special action, which are spoken in modified tones:-

beemrinv = to honour or favour or encourage.

/ chaaymruuyv = guessing at number of fingers at drinking bout.

chicheozynv = turning round and round, not being able to stay quiet and still for a moment.

crenqjrynv }
or nrenqjrynv } = would rather.

cror jrytv = to be in confinement.

/ daardhaannx = to blackmail.

/ daarghaawx = to fight (with fists).

/ daarghunqx = to be employed.

daarkrynnv = to do Chinese boxing.

deakghaanqx = to run away (after embezzlement etc.).

dhak-faatv = to have found the right method.

dhawx = to tout, to take notice of someone. It is used more often in the negative 'mrhdhawx' 'not caring to get contact with someone, would not have anything to do with someone

faarmrinv = to become angry, to take offence. lraany lh

fhaannxjrekv = to translate. lraany se

gorngsiuv = to joke, to tell a funny story. mheahx =

jhimm cheonnx = to castrate, or to have been mrh-dhakf

jrawv-dhak (kreoe)* = to let him, allow him (mrh-khean
crawv-dhak kreoe).

jrawxrohv = to go on a launch picnic.

khenqgraiv = to have a chat.

kwhaahxxao = to boast.

lhaay(x)cear = to make average, to even things out.

lhiu jrann } = to run away from responsibility, the
lhiuzorxeoiv } law, etc.

lholhozynv = to hang about, clinging to some one,
refusing to leave some one.

lraany lhaek } = behaving as if one was very grand.
lraany serng }

mheahx = to carry child on one's back.

mrh-dhakfaatv = not the right method.

mrh-kheanqx = not at all afraid, not caring at all.

* Probably this is a modification by analogy, beginning with 'jraw dhak kreoe', where 'jraw' became modified when the high tone 'dhak' was dropped (see Compensatory modification p. 227); thus the phrase becomes 'jrawv kreoe'. By the time when speakers slipped the post-verb 'dhak' back, the original compensation for 'jraw' would have already been forgotten.

mrh-zhihx (possibly from anticipation of final particle 'nhe' which usually follows this when no object is forthcoming) = I don't know, as in 'mrh-zhihx xrai mrh xrai dhe', 'I don't know whether it is or not'.

naogaiv = to use cunning or tricks on another.

nraammmrohv = transliteration from Sanskrit 'namas' = reverence, honour. Pali 'namo'. In Cantonese it means 'to say prayers, to chant sutras'.

ngaaighaawx = to quarrel.

paakthohx = to go courting (modern slang).

phenqx mreang = to challenge some one to the utmost, to risk one's life in competition.

seorng-jrytv = to enjoy the view of the full moon.

seorng-mrin v = to honour one.

shawfhohx = to end, to make an end of it.

sreorng-mruunv = to go to the house of patients etc. (said of doctors, and other professional men).

theoytongv = to make excuses, to be lukewarm in response.

warndhenqx = to deceive, to take advantage of.

wraannv = to play, to amuse oneself, cf. same verb in Mandarin, which takes suffix . Also in German 'spielen' 'to play' is capable of taking a diminutive suffix, as in 'Ermacht sich ein Spielchen'.

wraannvwraannv xraarv = not doing one's work seriously while playing.

wraarnv = to condole.

wruuy-wraav = to make a reply, to report back.

xeoi-dreangv = to go abroad, to tour about.

xhaayx = to provoke (metaphorical use of the verb 'to touch slightly').

xhawx = to fall in love with some one, often used in the negative sense 'mrh xhawx' 'not caring for some one, not responding to another's love'.

xraangxraangv = to walk (nursery talk cf. walkie, walkie)

zao lrouv = to run away (owing to insolvency), to elope.

zim(jrann)gwhonqx = to enjoy privileges with some one,
to take advantage of some one's generosity.

zrek-jratv = to be on day duty.

zrek-jreav = to be on night duty.

4. Adverbs and Adverbial Phrases.

a. Some adverbs, or rather adverbial compounds, are formed by repetition of an adjective, and modification of tones in these cases generally occurs in the second syllable of the repetition (in the case of high falling tones, the first as well as the second element of the repetition is changed to high level since tone-sandhi operates to the first).

chohxchohx = in the beginning.

ghonqxghonqx = just, only just now.

lreoklreokv = slightly, in outline.

mraanmraanv } = slowly (a polite phrase, said when
or mraanmraanx } one has finished one's meal while
others are still eating).

mraanmraanv xraanq } = walk slowly (a polite phrase
or mraanmraanx xraanq } said by a host to his depart-
ing guests).

nroinnroiv } = now and then, at intervals.
nroi-bhat-nroiv }
nroi-mrh-nroiv }

nghaamnghaam = just, only just now.

shannshannx = newly, just acquired, produced etc.

trawtrawv = firstly, in the beginning, the first.

xheangxheangx } = gently (in handling things).
xreangxheangx }

zrengzrengv = stealthily, secretly.

zrimzrimv = gradually, by degrees.

b. Adverbs and adverbial compounds (not formed by repetition)

bhatsramv = not very much, signifying lack of enthusiasm for something.

buunjreav = at midnight.

chaahmrhdhohx = nearly, almost.

channshannx = personally, in person.

cheotnrinnv = next year.

creoybrinv = either way, as you please, any way one like, not deliberately, not formally.

crinnnrinnv = year before last.

crunq-zhunqx = secretly, behind the scene.

dhonq-jrinnv = naturally.

dhonq-mrinv = face to face, to some one's face.

douzynvtraw = on the contrary.

draaighaahx = mutually, altogether.

draaijreokv = probably, about.

draaikoiv = probably.

draamjratv = days with little business.

drouv = thereabouts, as in 'baat srenqdrouv' 'about 80%'.

fhatjrinnghaannx = suddenly.

fran-ngroiv = especially.

gaam-ngraangv = forcibly.

gam sreongxraav = thereabouts.

garmjreongv = thus, in this manner.

ghammnrinnv = this year.

gorzransrihv = at that time.

graunrinnv = last year.

jrea-mraarnv = at night.

✓ jeok-mrokv = about, approximately.

jhatcrayv = altogether, at the same time.

✓ jhatgojrannv } = all alone, all by oneself.
jhatgo jrannx }

jhatltreotv = all without exception.

✓ jhat mreiv = intensely, persistently, with undivided attention.

✓ jhatzranghaanx } = one moment, in a moment.
jhatzranv }

jrat-trawv = during the day, daytime.

jrat-zhunqx = during the day, daily.

jrisaammjrytv = around February and March.

lraebaaillrukmaarnv = Saturday night.

lreorngfranv = you and me, mutually.

lreorngghaahx = mutually.

✓ lreorng-ghunqprohv = husband and wife together.

mrhfhonqx = never, as in 'Kreoe mrh fhonqx bhonq xraa
jrann gea' 'He never helps anybody'.

mroo-geexrohv = not often, seldom.

mrow-jrenq-zhunqx = imperceptibly.

nhipraayv = recently, lately.

ngaanzaushammx = midday.

nghaay-mraarnv } = at dusk.
✓ nghaay-mraarnx }

ngraangv-xrai = persistently, as long as; as in 'Kreoe
ngraangv-xrai garm zrou gea' 'He would do
that!' and 'Ngraangv-xrai nree mrh ghonnsip
ngror, ngror zrau mrh ghonnsip nree', 'As
long as you don't interfere with me, I'll no
interfere with you'.

ngroimrinv = the outside.

phinnx = deliberately, wilfully, as in
(or phinnxphinnx) 'Kreoe phinnx jiu garm zrou' 'He
would do that of all things!'

pojratv = inauspicious or unlucky day.

shihxraav = secretly, unknown to others.

shinngorpraayv = some time ago.

sioxrohv = seldom.

sreonbrinv = doing something incidentally, not going
into any trouble at all.

sreongxraav = nearly, about to.

thenqxxhaa = in a little while (also used as a
connective).

(from 'teng' 'to wait', 'jhat xraar' 'a while' ?)

| thinn-mhung-gwhonqx = at dawn.

thunqx (xrai) = all (is, are).

trawshinnx = just now.
(or krawshinnx)

wrong-jratv = days when business is good.

xae shannxgranx } = next to one, very near to
xae shannxbhinnx } one.

xoojratv = auspicious or lucky day.

(xoojratv lhaz = it will never happen.)

xraannsrihv = ordinarily, when nothing special happen

xrai-garm-jiv = making merely the minimum effort in
doing something.

xraunrinnv = year after next.

| zhaangdhi = nearly, almost.

| zhynnndhanqx = deliberately, specially.
(also drakdhanqx)

zorjrauv = thereabouts.

zreng-zhungx = secretly, quietly, (doing or proposing something behind the back of others).

zrigeex = by oneself, all by oneself.

zrok-mraarnv = last night.

zrukjhatzrukjri(v) = one by one, clearly, separately.

✓5. Interrogatives, Interrogative Final Particles, other Final Particles, and exclamatory modification.

a. Interrogatives.

bbingo(v) = who?

bhinnhai = where (rural)?

bhinsy(v) = where?

/dirmjreongv = how?

/geebrokv = how thin?

geecreonqv = how long (measure)?

geecrurngv = how heavy?

geedhohx = how many? how much?

geedraaiv = how big? how old?

geefaaiv = how quick? how fast?

geefreyv = how fat?

geefuutv = how wide?

gee ghowx = how tall? how high?

geegwai(v) = how much (cost)? how expensive?
(more frequently unmodified).

gee jryrnv = how far?

gee krarnv = how near?

geenraann(v) = how difficult?

gee nroiv = how long (time)?

geengraangv = how hard (stiff)?

geesrihv = when?

gee xraov = how thick?

mhatjrannv = who, what name?

mhatsreoyv = who?

mhijrearwraav = what did you say? how dare you!

mrh thungx = do you mean to say?

grohv = Oh, is that so?

xraiv = Yes? (indicative of great surprise).

b. Interrogative Final Particles.

mhea (mhe) as in 'xrai mhea?' 'Is that so?'

nhe as in 'nree dhe?' 'What about you?'

c. Final Particles.

braav lha as in 'Nree xoi braav lha' 'You had better go' (signifying persuasion).

braav lok as in 'ngror mrh seong trung kreoe paaksao; ngror crih zhek braav lok' 'I don't wish to co-operate (or work) with him. I'd better resign'.

dhi used as a comparative suffix after adjectives or phrases. 'Garmjreongv xoo dhi' 'That's better' 'Nree jiu theangv wraa dhi' 'You must be more obedient'.

geav as in 'xoo geav' = 'that's all right, that's not bad, I have no objection'.

leav as in 'Garmjreongv zrau xoo leav' 'That would be all right!' (confidentially, it is my opinion that).

lha as in 'Mrh xoo lha' 'Please don't'.

xraiv lha as in 'Ngror theangv-nree-wraa xraiv lha' 'I'll obey you (do as you say) really!' (signifying a surrendering promise).

zhea = that's all, only.

d. Exclamatory modification, signifying surprise, wonder

admiration and emphasis by means of the development of a slight glide and raising of voice at the end of the statement. A parallel development of such intonation is found in Siamese, according to a Siamese student who kindly went over some Siamese tones with me.

braak-v *ang 4*

Nree taexraar nhi grin shaammx saedhak gee braak-v! =
Look how white this garment washed!

draai-v

Nree gam daarm draai-v! = How dare you!

faai-v

Nree taexraar zeak fheyghey fheydhak gee faai-v! =
Look how fast the aeroplane flies!

fhonq-x

Taexraar nree xaakdhak kreoe gee fhonq-x! = Look how
you've frightened him!

gwhonq-x

Taexraar gorsy gee gwhonq-x! = Look how bright it is
there!

jrunqghunq-x

Taexraar kreoe drukshyh gee jrunqghunq-x! = Look how
hard he studies!

krannlrek-v

Taexraar kreoe gee krannlrek-v! = Look how industrious
he is!


leang-v

Taexraar gorgo nreoejrannv gee leang-v! = Look how
beautiful that woman is!

ngror-v

Mrhthunqx nree mrh zhunqji ngror-v? = Do you mean to
say you do not like me?


shek (with a glide to a higher pitch than its normal one)

Mrhthunqx ngror nree dhou mrh shek  *? = Do you mean to say you don't know me?

srat-v

Nree morxraar kreoe go troo gee srat-v! = Feel his stomach - how hard it is!

zhek (with a glide to a higher pitch than its normal one)

Mrhthunqx kreoe seorng crihzhek  *? = Could it be that he wishes to resign?

6. Prepositions.

There are no exact Cantonese monosyllabic words equivalent to the English prepositions like above, below, before, behind, upon, by, etc. Such prepositions would, in Cantonese, involve the use of several words in some special word-order around the object which is governed by the prepositional phrase: viz. 'xae kreoe kraubrin' (lit: at him behind side) for 'behind him'. However, if we look at the so-called Cantonese preposition 'xae' taken as the equivalent of 'at, on, or in' we recall the suggestion of Professor Y.R. Chao in his Cantonese Primer, p. 34, that 'gor' 'that' is developed from the general classifier 'go' which became 'gov' i.e. modified from 'go', and because 'gov' was so near to the middle rising tone in pitch and movement that it gradually became simply 'gor', a middle rising tone by its own right. Similar process occurred and created the adverb 'garm' 'so, in this manner

* This upturned arrow is used to indicate the glide to a higher pitch still.

continued Professor Chao, from 'gam' 'so, to this extent' when it was modified to 'gamv' and then taken to be 'garm'. On the strength of this suggestion, we may infer that 'xae' 係 'in, on, or at' was probably a modified 'xrai' 係. 'To be' i.e. xraiv and that 'bee' 俾 'by, in a passive construction' was probably a modified 'brei' 被 (literary equivalent of the colloquial 'bee' in forming the passive construction) i.e. breiv. The following examples will provide an illustration of the use of these two 'prepositions' though they do not appear now in their modified garb. 'Ngror kree xae zheonq jir sy' 'I stand on the chair' 'xae sy' is used for the preposition 'on'. 'A Shaamm brei fat'. (literary style) 'No. 3 was punished, or given a sentence'. 'A Shaammx bee jrann frat' (colloquial style) 'No. 3 was punished by some one', where 'some one' is strictly necessary in the colloquial construction, whereas it is not necessary in the literary construction.

Another word which could be taken as a preposition is 'gwo' 'to pass' 過. The phrase 'dhoh gwov traw' 'too much' literally means 'more pass head' or 'more than head'. Here we see that 'gwo' partly retains its verbal function, and the modification of 'gwo' is caused by compensating for the dropping of a verb suffix¹ in this way - 'gwozor traw' 'having passed head' or 'having passed the usual degree, extent, etc.' becomes contracted into

1. See Compensatory Modification Chapter V C. p. 225.

'gwov traw'. Thus 'gwov traw' can be used in the sense of 'too much' but it must be placed after the adjective it intensifies, such as 'ghow gwov traw' 'too tall'. Two more examples will illustrate further the use of 'gwov' in a similar function of intensifying the adjective.

fan-gwov-lrunq = to have overslept (lit. sleep over muzziness).

ngro-gwov-ghey = too hungry, past the hungry stage (lit. hungry over hunger).

7. Connectives.

The use of 'and' as conjunction between clauses is not a feature of Chinese construction, but there are a few connectives employed for introducing dependent clauses.

geijrinn(v) = since.

darngxxraarx) = in case (something happens a
(or tengxxraarx)) moment later) as in 'Ngror mrh
wraa bee nree zhih, ~~tengxxraarx~~
nree gorng saai bee jrann theanq' 'I won't
tell you in case you (soon) broadcast it
(lit. tell completely) to all people'.

[I represent this connective in this spelling because I believe it came from darng (to wait) or teng (to wait) jha xraar (a moment) and its modification to the high pitch is developed as follows:-

- ✓ (1) darng is followed by the high tone jhat > darngv; this change is hardly intelligible but by analogy with and anticipation of the second element of this compound 'darng' gets a secondary modification to the high level thus > darngx. Similarly the variant first element of this connective teng > tengv > tengx.

(2) xraar is raised by the suffix jrihx beyond the long rising stage because the indication of a 'very little' while sometimes produces a secondary modification; cf. jhat go jrannv and jhat go jrannx are both used according to the emphasis the speaker puts in it. Xraar becomes xraarx in this case and when it is joined to the first element of this compound the emphasis of the 'littleness' is transmitted frontwards as well, making up a compound of high level tone in both elements, viz. darngxxraarx or tengxxraarx.]

sheoyjrinn(v)..... draanxrai = Although yet ..

✓ 8. Familiar phrases with modified tones.

✓ braighaahlriox = Hard luck! Crumbs!

chihcheahxzynv = constantly turning round, unsteady.

daarmhaahx-shaanqx = giving birth to twins.

daarsearcraahv = to lose one's fiance through death.

✓ daar sheongfhayx = to do the acrobatic stunt of kicking in the air.

✓ diu jhinngxghayx = to be starved from cigarettes or opium.

gwae-bhat-ghaawx = extremely unsociable.

gwaemrhzhiahx = no wonder, naturally, who doesn't know that!

gwaemrowgwaejreongv = putting on an ugly expression making a funny face.

✓ mhaah-phowx = to share a bed.

mrh gwaaiiv-dhak lha = no wonder!

ngraangv-dau-ngraangv = equally stubborn or equally matched.

✓saar fhaahcheongx = to play at quarrelling, said of husband and wife or lovers.

saar mraarcrinndhowx = to make a show of one's efforts.

shaamm-zhih-wrayv = (lit. three mast boat) a widow (modern slang).

shihmrowdraaijreongv = putting on airs.

xhaw-zry trawv = to watch very closely, jealously.

xheoyx gam crow, bhaahx gam bai = very noisy, very rowdy.

✓xram-ghaah-whannx = May your whole family perish of a plague.

zaa gaarxjix = pretend, make believe.

ziu braanv) = do something according to a previous
ziu jreongv) example or model.

ziu braanv zyr wuurn = pay back with same coin.

zrou braanv = as sample.

zrou jreongv geazhea = only for show.

A P P E N D I X

Examples of familiar nouns which take the diminutive suffix *zae* 仔 or *zir* 子 .

Since the modification of tones chiefly represents the diminutive connotation in Cantonese there are not too many nouns with an explicit diminutive '*zae*' 仔 , Cantonese word for child, or '*zir*' 子 the universal Chinese character for child. When smallness is to be expressed explicitly as in *gaozae* 狗仔 a little dog and in *zhyh(x)zae* 猪仔 , a little pig, and in *dhowxzae* 刀仔 a pen knife as opposed to a table knife, etc. and in *dangzae* 凳仔 a small or low stool as opposed to a full size one, *zae* 仔 is used. But when smallness is not necessarily meant such common nouns are usually modified but are not followed by the diminutive 仔 , thus *zhyhx* (pig), *dhowx* (knife). There are however nouns which do not stand by themselves without a 仔 or 子 as in the case of *mruuixzae* (slave girl, maid) [the compound is more common than the one syllable word *mruuix*]. Here are some examples of nouns with the explicit use of 仔 or 子 indicating not familiarity but actually noticeable smallness. On the whole *zir* 子 has more of the literary flavour than *zae* 仔.

List of words with 'zae' 仔 .

brihbhizae = baby.

cheahxzae = rickshaw.

craahzae = a kind of shampoo.

daarzae = body-guard or rough fellow.

gaozae = little dog.

ghaahshaanqxzae = son of a slave, a boy slave.
(or ghaahshaanqxtae)

ghaanqxzae = a farm hand.

ghunqxzae = doll.

jhinnxzae = cigarettes.

jreonqzae = lamb.

jreorngzae = adopted child.

jrirzae = ear.

kaizae = equivalent of god-child.

kwuurzae = story.

lraanvzae = ruffian, gangster.

lreevzae = plum.

lreoyzae = donkey.

mruuixzae = maid, slave girl.

nraammzae = boy.

nreoe(v)zae = girl.

ngaezae = shortie.

ngraahnghaazae = baby.

saarnzae = man without a job, spiv (as ridicule rather than diminutive connotation).

sammrannxzae = child.

saoghannxzae = handkerchief.

< showxhaazae = baby.

sryhzae = potatoes.

✓ List of words with 'zir' → .

✓ bhozir = marbles (transliteration).

daezir = good foundation in health, wealth or learning.

faaizir = chopsticks.

faatzir = method.

gaazir = dignity, honour, pride.

ghayzir = cockerel's testis.

jratzir = date, time.

jreahzir = coconut.

jreongzir = shape.

jrukzir = mattress.

kreyzir = chessmen.

mrinzir = face (pride, dignity, honour).

shannzir = state of health.

xrowzir = ten cent piece.

As shown in the above examples the adding of 'zae' or 'zir' after nouns may or may not indicate smallness, but no modification occurs as long as either of these suffixes is still there.

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